

CELLÆ TRICHORÆ

AND OTHER

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES

IN

SICILY, CALABRIA

AND

NORTH AFRICA AND SARDINIA.

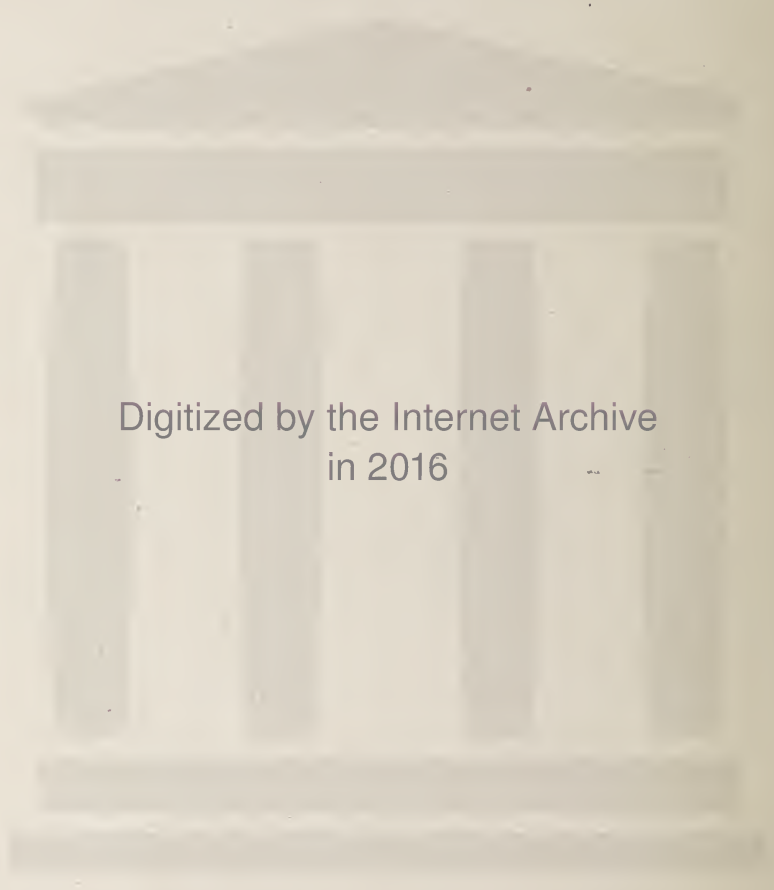
VOL. II.



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CELLÆ TRICHORÆ

AND OTHER

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES

IN THE

BYZANTINE PROVINCES

OF

SICILY WITH CALABRIA

AND

NORTH AFRICA

INCLUDING

SARDINIA.

VOL. II.

ILLUSTRATED.

EDWIN HANSON FRESHFIELD,
M.A., F.S.A.

PRINTED PRIVATELY,
1918

*A few Copies of this Book may be obtained by Students from the
Author through the Printers and Publishers*

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TO THE MEMORY OF
BASIL HAMMOND,

FELLOW OF TRINITY,

AND TO

ARMINE F. KING,

ARCHDEACON OF TOKIO,

THESE NOTES ON HISTORY AND ECCLESIOLOGY

ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

SICILY.

1898, 1899, 1905, 1906, 1907,
1908, 1913, 1914.

CALABRIA.

1899, 1905, 1914.

SARDINIA.

1901, 1909.

ALGIERS and TUNIS.

1910, 1911.

EGYPT and NUBIA.

1886, 1912.

GAETA and MONTE CASSINO.

1912.

ALBENGA and CAPRI.

1913.

PREFACE

IN consequence of the war the number of illustrations has been reduced, and those of well-known buildings that can be found in other publications are omitted.

The Introduction is, in the main, taken from letters written to my father during our travels. The text of them is retained, and the fact recorded here by way of apology to the reader for the frequent appearance of the personal pronoun and some lack of continuity in the subjects discussed.

E. H. F.

JUNIPER HILL,
REIGATE,
1918.

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INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of these notes has been explained in the Introduction to the preceding volume. For the sake of continuity the original title is retained, though Sardinia now falls out of the narrative and Egypt takes its place.

I may again conveniently commence with the cellæ trichoræ, and present an illustrated description of the chapel of the Holy Trinity belonging to the monastery of Lerins, on the island of S. Honorat, opposite Cannes, the chapels in the cemetery of S. Callixtus at Rome, and the trefoil sanctuaries of the churches in the two monasteries at Sohag, in Egypt. The last are by far the most important and interesting buildings described in these pages, not excepting the basilica at Tebessa. It is said that the monastery of Lerins was founded in the beginning of the fifth century upon the model of Egyptian religious houses in the Nile valley, and likely enough, therefore, that the trefoil chapel of the Holy Trinity was copied from these sanctuaries at Sohag. The same might be said of the chapel of Sta Theresa by Syracuse, described in the preceding volume, for it is situated close to the route taken by the early missionaries on their way from the East to Gaul. S. Theresa has recently been excavated, and a close inspection of it shows that it is almost exactly like the Trinity chapel of S. Honorat in architectural details and in plan. I conjecture that the ancient church of S. Giovanni in Sinis, on the West coast of Sardinia, represents another link in the chain of Christian stations between Syria and Gaul. The church, or rather that part of it that is covered by a dome, built like those of S. Theresa and Lerins, would then be considerably older than the date previously assigned to it. It is also noteworthy that the monastery at Lerins owned an estate about Saccargia, in the north of Sardinia.

From the cellæ trichoræ I pass on to the Byzantine and early Norman churches in Sicily and Italy. The church of S. Domenico at Castiglione in Sicily is of particular interest in connection with the cellæ trichoræ, for it is the first example I have come across and, so far as I know, the only one in Sicily or Italy where the trefoil plan was adopted in the construction of a sanctuary intended for the Greek liturgy.

The prothesis and the diaconicon are nothing more than niches in the north and south walls. This substitution of niches for proper chapels is not unknown, and occurs in the chapels of Favara and Ziza at Palermo and in the little late church of S. Thecla, the present Toklou Dédé mesjid, in Constantinople. Something of the same kind is found in other small churches there, but the arrangement was not very common and seems to indicate a comparatively late date, about the end of the tenth century or after. Nor should I omit to mention the trefoil arrangement of the sanctuary in the eleventh-century church of S. Elias at Salonica.

The provenance of the common sanctuary with three parallel apses and the date of its introduction into the church architecture of Sicily and South Italy are certain enough. The circumstances in which these churches find a place in my notes has been explained in the introduction to the preceding volume. But I may repeat here that they are interesting chiefly from an historical point of view, as almost the only evidence we still possess of the Byzantine occupation, and of the presence of a large Greek community after the Norman Conquest of these provinces.

In the chapter on Sicily in the preceding volume, I have noticed the fact that there are practically no remains of the Byzantine occupation in Catania or Messina. The latter, however, possessed, and fortunately still possesses a very beautiful little church, built in Norman times on a Byzantine model and now known as the S. Annunziata dei Catalani, the name being derived from a guild of Spanish merchants to whom it was assigned. It is a little basilica with a square sanctuary covered by a dome supported on pendentives. The roof of the nave is supported on pillars with classical capitals of Roman date, said to have come from a neighbouring ruin identified as

the Temple of Neptune. There is the usual sanctuary arrangement of three semicircular apses, the main or central apse for the altar and the prothesis and diaconicon on either side. The interior of the church had been carefully restored prior to the earthquake, but the exterior was surrounded by houses and therefore invisible. Since these houses were demolished the walls have been uncovered, and they were found to be decorated with various circular and lozenge patterns in coloured marbles or stones in a style made familiar to us from Pisan examples. The exterior of the dome and the central apse are decorated with little pillars supporting a semicircular arcade. Prior to the earthquake this church was so smothered in houses that only a small piece of the central apse and the porch of the west front were visible. Though much shaken and split from top to bottom, the fabric was kept together by the dome and surrounding houses, and when the latter were removed the church was shored up and is now standing in the open waiting restoration.

The central and north apses and fragments of the nave walls are practically all that remains of the cathedral. The latter are made of rubble and cement so roughly put together that the wonder is the building stood so long. As the reader is no doubt aware, the little temporary cathedral, made of wood and iron, was the thoughtful gift of H.M. the Emperor of Germany. It is perhaps worth record that after the Calabrian earthquake a large number of wood and iron churches of the same kind were ordered by the Roman ecclesiastical authorities from a London contractor to replace those that had been destroyed. When I wanted to obtain some information locally respecting two or three out-of-the-way villages in the Aspromonte, I was referred, of all places in the world, to an office in Pimlico.

Among other objects of minor interest saved from the wreck are the two gigantic equestrian statues representing Mata and Griffone, the local Gog and Magog. These are made of wicker-work frames, covered by pasteboard, fixed on platforms with wheels; in company of the effigy of a camel on men's shoulders, they were dragged about and figured in the annual civic procession to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and possibly also the defeat of the Arabs. The two figures appear to date from the early part of the eighteenth century.

One of them represents a clean-shaven individual, dressed as a Roman warrior, who is usually mistaken for a woman, and the other a swarthy individual of Berber type. I infer that they typify the native victor and the vanquished foreigner, though popular tradition makes them represent fabulous personages variously named Cham and Rea, Saturn and Cybele, or Zanclos and his wife, who came down from the Nebrodian hills to found Messina. I have often thought the history of these effigies might be worth tracing, not only for local tradition, but for the light it might throw on our Gog and Magog and other statues of the same kind that are to be found in some cities of Northern Europe.

As I am writing about Messina, I may digress for a brief space and refer to the part my friend Commendatore Luigi Sofio took in the earthquake and its sequel. To him and his good parents, my old and esteemed friends the late Mr. and Mrs. John Sofio, my wife and I owe some of our pleasantest travelling recollections in Sicily.

The Sofio family escaped the earthquake by only a few hours, for they left Naples on the eve, and the train they travelled in actually reached Bagnara, in Calabria, opposite Messina and in sight of the old Faro lighthouse, within an hour of the disaster.* Information of a serious earthquake had already reached the stationmaster at Bagnara, but as the light was still burning in the lighthouse the passengers did not believe the report that Messina had been destroyed. The train, however, was unable to proceed towards Reggio, and after some delay returned to Naples, where Mr. Sofio and a staff of doctors took steamer for Messina, and arrived to find the city in ruins. The rescue work had already been commenced by the sailors of a Russian squadron that happened to be cruising in the neighbourhood.

Many interesting incidents arising out of the earthquake concern the identification of unknown children. Mr. Sofio was appointed curator, or guardian, of a host of these children, who were rescued from the ruins or found wandering about and unable to give any account of themselves or their parents. This difficult work has been so successfully accomplished that out of several hundred children under twenty remain to be identified.

* Monday, December 28, 1908.

The following cases may be taken as illustrations. A Neapolitan doctor saw a sailor from the Russian squadron rescue an infant, a few months old, from the top story of a house near the Via Sta Maria la Porta. He adopted the girl and took it to his home in Naples. The houses in Messina are usually let out in flats, and in this particular block lived a citizen of repute, who perished, as was believed, with all his family. Mr. Sofio knew the Neapolitan doctor, and hearing where the girl was found, had her brought this year to Messina for identification. In the meantime a claim to the estate of the family was made on behalf of two infant cousins, whose parents had also perished. The question of identity was, therefore, raised in a contested suit before the Court of Claims, and a jury of friends and relations empanelled decided in her favour.

In another case two little lads were found wandering in the streets by a Russian officer and taken on board a Russian man-of-war. Four years later a Russian gunboat put in to Tripoli during the Italian occupation, and when the Italian Governor went on board the two boys were pointed out to him. Their pictures were taken and sent to Messina, the father was found, and he identified his sons. Then came the difficulty: the Italian Government claimed them, the Russians did not want to give the boys up, and the father, finding his sons comfortably provided for, did not want them back. The solution of this problem is still under discussion.

Some of the cases were amusing and many, as may be imagined, touching and pathetic. I hardly know which of these epithets to apply to the case of my good friend who, being a bachelor, suddenly found himself the foster parent of several hundred Messinese youngsters. Besides these duties he also has charge of the admirable model village, built in the northern suburb and maintained by H.M. the Queen of Italy.

Reggio suffered more severely than Messina, but it was, architecturally speaking, a mean place, and the public buildings were of no archæological interest.

*

*

*

By North Africa I must be understood to mean the French colony of Algeria and the protectorate of Tunis; that is to say, the provinces known in Roman times as Numidiâ, the two Mauretánias, the Byzacena, and Africa Proconsularis. Under the Romans Tripoli and the Cyrenaica were administered as part of North Africa, but under the Byzantines they were attached to Egypt.* The extent of the Christian remains in Tripoli and Cyrene is still unknown, and owing to recent events it has been impossible for a foreigner to visit them, but it seems likely that the Church there was in rite and language the same as in Algeria and Tunis. In one respect, at any rate, the history of the Church has certainly been the same, for after the Arab conquest in the seventh century the orthodox Christians were completely wiped out, while in Egypt the Coptic Jacobite Church managed to hold its own, and survives as a flourishing institution. The student will find in the able and interesting works of Mrs. Butcher, Mr. A. J. Butler, and my friend Mr. Somers Clarke all and the latest that is known concerning the history, liturgy, ritual, and architecture of the Coptic Church. It seems plain enough that in the main the Copts followed the Greeks and not the Latins.

There are no books on the Church in North Africa like the three I have just named, and so far as the architecture, at any rate, is concerned, the only sources of information are to be found in periodical publications and other works dealing with archæology generally. The student must thank my friend M. Saladin for writing the first, and till recently the only consecutive notice of Christian edifices in the interior of Tunis; to his general survey must now be added the more detailed examination made by M. Merlin, the learned Director of the Department of Antiquities in Tunis, and the work of M. Diehl on Africa generally. The truth of the matter is that until recently Christian archæology was entirely neglected and the attention of the antiquaries directed to the earlier Roman remains and inscriptions.

Concerning the constitution of the Church in North Africa, we know that after the 'Peace' of Constantine it was presided over by a Metropolitan at Carthage, that the provinces, each with its own primate, corresponded to the civil provinces, and

* The exarchate of Africa also included Sardinia.

that there was a large number of bishops scattered all over the country, but the names of several of the sees are still unknown, and of those that are known many still remain to be identified. We also know that Latin was the language used, as appears by the writings of the African Fathers, by dedications and inscriptions, and that after Justinian's time, at any rate, the Roman see possessed an extensive patrimony. These patrimonies gave the Pontiff much power and influence as landlord, and for a time at any rate the rectors presided over the local assemblies of bishops, so that the Church in Africa was attached to Rome by something more substantial than a common language. Moreover, it is clear that the older and larger churches in North Africa were designed and fitted upon the same model as the basilican churches in Rome.

During the first period of Christianity, between the Peace of the Church when the Christians were allowed to practise their religion openly and the Vandal conquest in the fifth century, the Church was distracted by the Donatist schism. No question of faith was involved in this controversy, and as circumstances evolved themselves it developed into a dispute concerning the government of the Church and discipline. What liturgy was used or whether the Donatist service differed materially from the Orthodox we are not told. At any rate, I am not aware that the ritual required any substantial modification of the common plan and arrangement of the sanctuary and the altar, so that a Donatist church is not distinguishable from an Orthodox in the same way that the ordinary Greek church of to-day can be distinguished from the Latin.

As the Donatists were accused of inviting, or at least assisting, the Vandal invasion of Africa, and as ultimately the stronghold of the sect was among the native Berbers in Numidia, it has often occurred to me to wonder whether the Donatist schism (at the outset a movement for a higher ideal or standard of conduct, like the Quakers) did not eventually develop into a kind of political home rule movement by the native clergy against their brethren of Roman origin.

What I have just said regarding a structural distinction between the churches of the Donatists, and the Orthodox applies also to those of the Vandals. The Arian clergy took possession of

the existing Orthodox churches, and if any were built during their ascendancy the new are not distinguishable from the old.

I now pass to the third or Byzantine period, that lasted from the conquest of Justinian till the closing years of the seventh century. During this time North Africa was governed more or less directly from Constantinople, at first by Justinian and his immediate successors, and later on and for the greater part of the time by Heraclius and his descendants.

Nearly every church of importance that I have seen in North Africa shows that it has been extensively restored, if not practically rebuilt out of materials taken from classical buildings. There is every reason to attribute these restorations to the period when Justinian set about reconstituting the Roman Empire in North Africa. Beside the purely military operations, this consisted of colonizing and cultivating territory that had been depopulated and devastated by the Berbers during the Vandal dominion, and of rebuilding the churches; the Emperor also placed the clergy in an official position that they had not occupied before, and not a little of the subsequent trouble over religious matters may be traced to the great power and importance acquired by them at this reformation. The fact that the ritual arrangements of the sanctuaries, the altars, tribunes, baptisteries, and so on, were the same in the restored as in the ancient churches seems to point to the fact that there was no substantial alteration in the service to be performed.

It seems, therefore, impossible to distinguish the date of the church from any structural peculiarity adapted to a particular and varying form of ritual as at Constantinople, and the conclusion seems to be that the early form of service was continued after the Byzantine conquest, and that the arrangements to screen the altar with stone or wood screens across the chancel arch, in the manner adopted by the Copts and Greeks of to-day, was unknown; and if any screening of the altar did take place it was effected by a movable curtain suspended from a baldacchino or rods and drawn to conceal the celebrant from view in the manner practised by the Armenian Church.

I conclude that the African Church commenced by being Latin in language and in rite, and that during the Byzantine dominion it continued also in faith and Church government

substantially as it had been before the Vandal occupation, and so remained until the fall of Carthage in 699.

Though this event may be conveniently chosen to mark the termination of the Christian empire in Africa and the commencement of the Mahometan dominion that was destined to last for just over twelve hundred years, in Africa as in Sicily the Arab conquest proceeded slowly. We may attribute the ultimate success to the general weakness and disorganization of the Byzantine empire during the preceding fifty years, and select as the turning point of events in favour of the Arabs the revolt of the Viceroy Gregory against the Emperor Constans II. The defeat of the Greek army at Sbeitla that ensued placed the whole of Southern Tunis in the hands of the Arabs, and though the Greeks were able to defend the fortified towns for some time to come, the country districts were left to the mercy of the invaders. We know very little about the subsequent campaigns of the Emperor Constans II in Africa. They were probably attended with some measure of success, for the Greeks were able to hold their own and some of the lost territory seems to have been regained. But these operations came to an end with the Emperor's death, and his son Constantine IV, Pogonatus, was otherwise engaged in defending Constantinople in a siege that lasted for seven years, besides carrying on a war with the Arabs in Asia Minor.

Mr. Diehl, in *L'Afrique Byzantine*, devotes many interesting pages to an account of the local history of this period, and so far as the relations between the Churches are concerned it is evident that the orthodox Latins, under the protection of the Viceroy Gregory, himself orthodox, held their own against the Greeks, who at that time, and under the auspices of the Imperial family, professed Monothelitism. During this rivalry Abbot Maximus, the champion of the orthodox party, was accused by the Greeks of having occasioned the loss of Tripoli by his evil counsels, just as later on the Pontiff Martin was blamed for the loss of all the Western provinces of the empire.

As these charges arose out of the Latin relations with the African Church on the one hand and the Emperor Constans on the other, I may briefly allude to the circumstances here.

The student is of course aware that from the Peace of the

Church up to the end of the seventh century, Christians, and more especially the Eastern Communities, were distracted by doctrinal disputes touching the nature, the will, or the energy of our Lord. The Emperor Heraclius attempted to reconcile the exponents and adherents of the rival doctrines on these subjects by an official pronouncement, or, as we should now call it, in diplomatic phraseology, a formula. The attempt not only failed, but raised other issues affecting the Emperor and his family, and when he died the Church was left divided into two rival camps, the orthodox who supported the 'dual' doctrine, and the heretics, who are known to us under the names of their founders or such cumbrous titles as Monophysites and Monothelites. The student may obtain a limited idea of the issues on questions of faith involved in these controversies by considering the doctrine that declared our Lord to have been possessed of a single and that a Divine nature. The orthodox, among whom must be reckoned the Latin and African Churches, argued, and to us also it must apparently logically follow, that if this be the true interpretation of the mystery of our Saviour, the doctrine of the incarnation becomes a myth, the Godhead must be held to have suffered on the Cross, to have died and have been buried. I need not pursue the illustration.

The dispute and this formula caused a great stir in Christendom, and was not finally set at rest till the close of the century in the reign of Constantine IV, Pogonatus. In the meantime the Emperor Constans II (the grandson of Heraclius and father of Constantine IV, Pogonatus) conceived the idea that the controversy might be stopped by forbidding any discussion about it, and this was to be done by the imperial edict or rescript issued in the Emperor's name and known to us as the 'Type.' The edict of the grandson, Constans II, produced as great a stir among the orthodox as the formula of the grandfather, Heraclius. The formula and the 'Type' differed, however, in two important respects: the former was no more than a statement of faith and expression of the Emperor's views; the latter expressed no opinion on the points of faith, but it forbade any discussion about them and was issued in the name of Constans II as an order of State.

I have already alluded to the Emperor Constans II's relation

with the Latin Church over the Type, to the part the Sicilian, Calabrian, and Sardinian bishops took in the Lateran Council when it was solemnly condemned, and to the prosecution of Martin by the Emperor for disobeying it.

The part the African Church took in the dispute that gave rise to the Type is recorded to us in two letters addressed to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople by a synod of African bishops. The letter to the Emperor bears some analogy to that addressed some two centuries later by John VIII to the Byzantine princes of Sardinia. We see from these letters that the African bishops held the same views as Martin and the Lateran Council, and the hostile critics were not slow to take advantage of the circumstances and attribute the misfortunes of the Greeks in Africa to the intrigues of the Latins, while those in the opposite camp accused the Emperor Constans of trying to force heretical doctrines on the orthodox community. But in truth there seems no evidence that the Emperor Constans' religious views were different from those of his father or his son who were orthodox. And the Latin objection to the Type is based, not on any definite pronouncement in favour of this or that doctrine, but because by forbidding discussion on the controversial question of the day regarding the attributes of our Lord, the edict might be held to imply that one doctrine was as good as the other. After making due allowance for the part that theology played in the politics of this age, it seems likely from the course of subsequent events that the substantial questions at issue underlying the dispute between the Emperor and Martin of Rome turned less on matters of faith than of language, nationality, and Church government, and that it arose out of the gradual growth of the Greek element in influence and importance at the expense of the Latin.

The Church historian of Sicily* has pointed out that the change from Greek to Latin commenced when Constans II came to live at Syracuse, and that the Emperor himself probably took a part in promoting it. We are not told what happened to the Church in Africa either in the reign of Constans or of his son, Constantine Pogonatus; the acts of the latter as affecting the

* Lancia di Brolo, the present Archbishop of Monreale, *Storia della Chiesa in Sicilia*.

Church could hardly have been objected to by the Latins on the score of faith, as he was an orthodox churchman and presided over the Council at Constantinople when the heresy that occasioned the edict of his father was condemned and finally disposed of.

In Sicily and Calabria the change from Latin to Greek had proceeded so far and so thoroughly that in the Emperor Leo III's reign these two Churches passed from the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Rome to that of Constantinople. The fact that the transfer was successfully accomplished seems to indicate that by then the Greek element had prevailed, if not in numbers, at least in importance over the Latin. We have no means of judging by a similar test whether the Greek element also prevailed in North Africa, for by the time Leo III came to the throne the Arabs were in possession, the Church had come to an end, and the Christians were given the alternative of becoming Mahometans or leaving the country.

In passing to Egypt, I should not forget to mention a fourth book, upon the churches of Nubia, written by Messrs. Mileham and Maciver, and published by the Pennsylvania University for the Eckley B. Coxe, junior, Expedition of Archæology. This and the three other books already referred to will supply the student with the best and latest information obtained on Christianity in the Nile valley. I need not do more here than refer briefly to the churches described in these pages, and point out how the Church history and architecture of Egypt differ from that of Algeria and Tunis. The first and important difference the student will notice is that whereas Christianity came, so to speak, to an abrupt end in Algeria and Tunis at the close of the seventh century, a large and flourishing Christian community still exists in Egypt under the name of the Coptic Church. He will naturally inquire how it came about that the Christians in Egypt were not only tolerated, but even, to a limited degree, protected by the Arab conquerors, while almost at the same date those in Algeria and Tunis were given the option of becoming Mahometans or leaving the country. The circumstances are, of course, matters of well-known history, and I

refer to them here only because they throw some light upon the history of the Church in North Africa, and they occurred while the Byzantine Emperors of the Heraclian family, whom I have so frequently mentioned, occupied the throne at Constantinople.

I have already alluded to the questions of faith relating to our Lord's attributes and Divinity that divided the Church from the fourth to the seventh century. I say the Church, but in point of fact these questions arose chiefly among the Syrian and the Egyptian Christians, and were debated in the great centres like Antioch and Alexandria between the orthodox fathers and their opponents known to us under a variety of names, the Nestorians, Jacobites, Monophysites, and Monothelites. The founders of the first two were especially connected with Egypt, for Nestorius himself was sent to the Khargeh Oasis in exile, and the Coptic Church to-day still follows a Jacobite profession.

In the seventh century the Coptic Church was, as it still is, separated in faith and Church government from the orthodox Greek Church, locally designated then as now by the name Melkite or royalist. I suspect that the distinctions between the two professions was first brought into marked prominence a century earlier in Justinian's reign, and according to one authority rival missions were actually sent to Egypt by the orthodox under the auspices of the Emperor, and by the heretics under those of his consort, the Empress Theodora. The attempt by the Emperor Heraclius to reconcile the conflicting parties under his formula or *ecthesis* having failed, the Arabs appeared upon the scene when the dispute was still in active progress. As circumstances eventually evolved themselves, the orthodox became identified with the royalist imperial or Greek party, while the opponents threw in their lot with the Arabs. There is no doubt that to preserve their freedom the native Copts who followed the dissentient or heretical profession appealed to the Arabs for protection against the Byzantines; and just as under the capitulations with the Sultan Mahomet II, the Greek Church is recognized and tolerated in Turkey, so under the bargain made with the Arabs, the Coptic Church was permitted to exist and still continues to-day. On the other hand, the orthodox Melkites who identified themselves with the imperial government were rigorously proscribed until a comparatively

recent date. The Coptic Church has therefore had the Egyptian mission field to itself, and exceptional opportunities of preserving its identity and customs. The language, however, was lost, and Arabic took its place. The last is perhaps the most remarkable result of the separation, for we may suppose that to the rank and file of the clergy and laity the question of language played at least as important a part in the dispute with the orthodox Greeks as that of Church government, or the abstruse doctrine about our Lord that is presented to us so prominently by the clerical historians.

In these notes I have endeavoured to see if the date of a church can be fixed from the style of sanctuary architecture that was adopted to suit a particular form of service, and one object of my visit to Egypt was to see how the arrangements of the primitive churches in Algeria and Tunis might compare with those in the Nile valley.

I think I am justified in saying that in the main the present ceremonies of the Copts, so far as the celebration of the Lord's supper and the sanctuary arrangements are concerned, are substantially the same as those pertaining in the Greek Church of to-day. But if the Coptic Churches in general are built to suit a service that is founded in the main on the Greek as it was developed after Justinian's revival, at least two structural peculiarities that seem to be survivals of an older ceremonial have been retained in the ancient churches of Cairo.

As I have pointed out in the Introduction to the chapter on Algeria and Tunis, there is no indication that the ancient churches in those provinces were ever provided with fixed partitions to screen the altar in the manner of the Greek iconostasis. And if, as there seems no reason to doubt, in the earliest times at any rate the celebrant was hidden from the view of the congregation, movable curtains must have been used for the purpose, either hanging from a canopy or baldacchino or from rods fixed across the body of the church. I am not at all sure that the baldacchino was as common in Africa as in Rome. In some of the ruined churches there is no trace of anything of the kind, and, unfortunately, one of the only independent pieces of evidence we possess in the way of a representation of the interior of a church, the famous mosaic now in the Bardo Museum at Tunis,

throws no light upon the question, and represents the altar as standing exposed in the middle of the nave. But on the other hand we have the evidence from the churches in Rome and the marble carving on the west wall of S. Sofia at Constantinople to show that a baldacchino was used; and to these examples must be added some of the old churches of Cairo.

It is quite certain that in the early period no stone screens existed in Egypt, and when these were introduced at a later date, the baldacchini were no longer necessary for their original purpose. Nor are they found in the comparatively late churches in the Nile valley. In the old churches of Cairo the baldacchino or canopy over the altar figures as well as the stone screen, and I can only explain the presence of the former by supposing that the baldacchini were retained from old custom. It is also noteworthy that the Coptic altars stand close into the apses, though these are fitted with seats or tribunes for the clergy. This was certainly not the primitive arrangement, where, as at Announa, Tebessa, Carthage, and elsewhere in North Africa, as well as in Rome, the same arrangement of seats is found, but the altar stood right out in the first bay of the nave; so that it would seem that at some time the position of the altar was changed and shifted farther into the sanctuary. And as the ancient churches in Nubia are fitted in this way, the change in this part of the world, at any rate, must have been made at an early date. In another respect the Coptic practice differs from all others by having several altars in the sanctuary, and three seems to be the usual number; this custom is certainly not derived either from the early Christians or from the Greeks.

I am not prepared to draw any definite conclusion from these peculiarities, and only note them here for the student's benefit, as they may be some guide to him in fixing the date of a church. At Addendan and Debereh in Nubia, for example, there is some indication that the sanctuary of the church was altered by the erection of a stone screen that did not form part of the original structure.

The other peculiarity in a Coptic church is that there are two fonts: a large one like a tank serving for ceremonial immersion at the Epiphany, and the smaller one used for the Sacrament of Baptism. I suspect that the tank represents the

earliest form of font, and when the custom of baptism by aspersion superseded that of immersion (not submersion) the old fonts were retained and utilized for ceremonial purposes only. Something of the same kind occurred at Albenga in Italy, at Fréjus in France, and other instances might no doubt be found.

I speak with hesitation respecting the early practice of administering the Sacrament of Baptism, for I am concerned with it only in so far as the change in structure consequent on a change in practice may be the means of fixing the date of a building. The student who is interested in this question must accept what I say with caution, especially in the use of such terms as immersion, submersion, affusion, or aspersion. In fact, I have only used the first and the last.

It would be manifestly impossible for an adult to be completely covered by water in any of these Tunisian or Algerian fonts that are described here. They are not large enough by a long way, for I tried the experiment in several of them. The ceremony no doubt consisted in the candidate standing knee-deep in the font and having water poured over him, and that is what I mean to convey by the word immersion. By aspersion I mean the practice of sprinkling as followed by the Church of England and the Church of Rome to-day. In the Greek Church the child is actually plunged into the water head and all. This is certainly not the general Coptic practice, whatever the theory may be, for the fonts are often narrow-necked jars tucked away in niches or recesses in the wall, where nothing of the sort could practically be done.

Was a distinction made between the design of a monastic and a parish church? I have not been able to detect any, but it is quite likely that the internal arrangements were not quite the same. My father suggests that the trefoil church of S. Elias at Salonica may be an example of a monastic church, as there is no provision for an iconostasis: nor would an altar screen of that kind be necessary where the congregation was composed of persons who were in Orders. I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the Greek monastic

service and practice to express an opinion respecting S. Elias, but it is certainly the fact that trefoil buildings seem as a rule to have been connected with religious communities. So the trefoils at Sohag, Bethlehem, Tebessa, S. Honorat, Montmajeur and S. Menas in Egypt were all attached to monasteries.

And that brings me back to the two monastic churches at Sohag. The student may rightly consider them to be among the most remarkable monuments of early Christianity that have come down to us, and for my purpose they have of course an especial interest owing to the sanctuaries being built on trefoil plan as *cellæ trichoræ*. The other well-known, or perhaps even better known, example of this arrangement in a great Christian building of early date will be found in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. It seems probable that this was the oldest of the three; that the idea was taken from an earlier building in Syria, not necessarily a church, but perhaps a baptistery or a tomb. My father draws my attention to a trefoil font, with steps leading down to the cuvette for immersion, now lying in the courtyard of the mosque, once a Byzantine church identified as the Hodja Mustafa Pasha Djami in the Balata quarter of Constantinople; a plan will be found in the text. But I have discussed the origin of the trefoil sanctuary in a great church elsewhere, and need say no more about it here beyond expressing my agreement with M. Saladin in thinking that this peculiar termination to a church was chosen for its doctrinal significance. The reader will see for himself that my expedition to the Christian cemetery in the Khargeh Oasis to find a trefoil tomb was not successful.

I have already acknowledged the sources of much of the information contained in this volume in the Introduction to the preceding one. To the list of books which is reproduced here I have added the four on Egypt already referred to, and M. Saladin's report on the antiquities of Tunis that was omitted by an oversight. These and other added books are marked with an asterisk.

Besides the many friends in Sicily and Italy whose kindness I have already acknowledged, notably Professors Orsi and A. Garufi, I must now add Professor Salinas, my friends Mr. Macbean our Consul at Palermo, Mr. Churchill our Consul at Naples, and Mr. Jerome, the United States Vice-Consul at Capri.

I have again to thank M. Merlin for helping me in Tunis and M. Saladin for his interest and for much valuable information and suggestion he has given me from time to time.

In Nubia I have to thank Sir R. Wingate, Mr. Drummond of the Education Department at Khartoum, Mr. Iles the Governor at Halfa, and Mr. and Mrs. F. Llewelyn Griffith for their kindness and hospitality to me at Faras, and to Mr. Woolley. In Egypt to my friends Mr. Somers Clarke and Mr. J. W. Crowfoot. I have also to thank Mr. Strzygowski for allowing me to use his photograph of the dome of the Red Monastery at Sohag as it used to be. My visit to these monasteries brought me to the house of Suwaris Basta, the son of Basta Bey, whose hospitality and kindness are well known to travellers. To the authorities in the Khargeh Oasis, Mr. Hornblower, Mr. Armstrong, and to the genial Director of the Museum at Alexandria, Dr. Professor Breccia, I also owe thanks for their kind help.

I venture once again to beg the indulgence of the reader for the many errors and omissions that can scarcely be avoided in a book of this kind.

E. H. F.

PALERMO,
January 12, 1914.

CELLÆ TRICHORÆ

SINCE our visit to Sicily in January, 1908, that is, a twelve-month before the earthquake that destroyed Messina and Reggio, our friend Professor P. Orsi, of Syracuse, has discovered the debris of two more cellæ trichoræ. One is situated in the Val d'Ispica in Southern Sicily* in a locality he describes as follows: 'Presso l'incontro delle due cavuzze che unendosi formano il corso idrico del Busaidone . . . alla sinistra del grande ponte, due vaste catacombe. . . Larderia e S. Maria. Piu sopra in una spianata rocciosa in mezzo ai ruderi di un abitato Bizantino, una fabbrica detta S. Pancrati.' The other is at a place called Coppanello on the seashore just below the hill of Staletti in Calabria. Nothing but the footings of this chapel remain, and round about are the extensive ruins of a large monastery, possibly the celebrated establishment founded by Cassiodorus.† This is the ruin that we set out to find on our expedition from Catanzaro Marina to the Roccelletta. Unfortunately we missed our way, and instead of proceeding along the coast road we turned up a lane that eventually brought us to Staletti.

STA THERESA

by Syracuse

We found that the floor of this trefoil chapel had recently been excavated by the proprietor, Commendatore Vinci. Human remains were found under the floor and also a late Roman or early Christian marble altar front in the central apse; the latter is now deposited in the Museum at Syracuse. On this occasion we noticed that the major part of the fabric of the little nave of

* *Scavi . . . nel Sudest della Sicilia. Estratto dalle Notizie degli scavi; anno 1905, fasc. 11 and 12, Rome, 1906.*

† Vol. i. p. 85.

Sta Theresa is composed of large stones taken from one of the Roman buildings that this district is full of. The style of architecture, the form of altar, and the use of old materials indicate that this chapel was erected in the early Christian period, and for choice in the commencement of the fifth century before the arrival of the Goths and Vandals. The remarkable similarity in plan and architecture between Sta Theresa and the Holy Trinity on the island of S. Honorat near Cannes shows that they belong to the same early date. This, then, may be a convenient place to describe and illustrate the Provençal chapel that we visited in 1913 on our way to Sicily.

ABBEY OF LERINS

In Provence

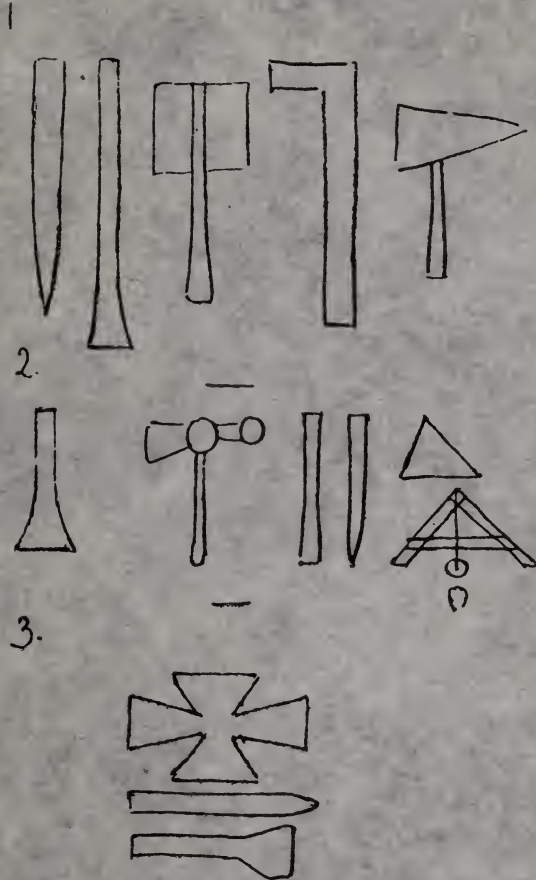
The foundation of this monastery dates from the beginning of the fifth century. As a school of theology it stood in much the same relation to Gaul as Mount Athos and Monte Cassino did to the Levant and Southern Italy, and in the twelfth century it certainly rivalled them in importance and renown. Among many celebrated scholars, divines, and fathers of the Church educated within its walls, S. Patrick of Ireland and S. Vincent of Lerins will be names familiar to English students. The community, founded about 400–420 by S. Honorat on the smaller island * that now bears his name, was composed of monks and hermits who lived together under a rule probably adopted from the Egyptian monasteries of the Nile Valley, but sufficiently distinct to have been recognized at the Third Council of the Church held at Arles (454) and identified as the Rule of Lerins. To this early period belong the present cloisters of the modern abbey, the church of the Holy Trinity with a trefoil sanctuary, and possibly one or two of the little chapels or oratories dotted about in different parts of the island. Though these notes are chiefly concerned with cellæ trichoræ, the cloisters of the abbey and the chapel of the Saint Sauveur are described here for the sake of convenience.

* In Roman times S. Honorat seems to have been called Lerino to distinguish it from the larger island Lero, the Ile Ste Marguerite of to-day.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

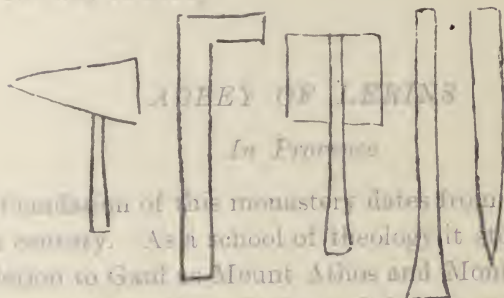
1. Altar, S Theresa Cuba, Syracuse.
2. Tomb, Alexandria.
3. Mason's Marks, Lerins Cloister.

SKETCHES.



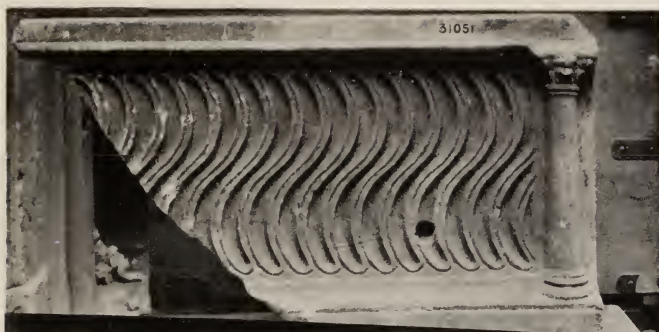
1. Mason's marks, Kircherian Museum, Rome.
2. Mason's marks, Arles Museum.
3. S. Saturnino Cagliari.

The Thomas is composed of large stones taken from one of the Roman buildings that this district is full of. The style of architecture, the form of altar, and the use of old materials indicate that this chapel was erected in the early Christian period, and the church in the commencement of the fifth century before the arrival of the monks. The remarkable similarity in plan and architecture between the Holy Trinity and the Holy Trinity on the island of S. Vincent, near Cannes shows that they belong to the same early date. It may be a convenient place to describe and illustrate the Provencal chapel that we visited in 1913 on our way to Sicily.



The foundation of this monastery dates from the beginning of the fifth century. As a school of theology it stood in much the same relation to Gaul as Mount Athos and Monte Cassino did to the Tyrol and Southern Italy, and in the twelfth century it separately secured them in importance and renown. Among many celebrated scholars, doctors, and fathers of the Church educated within its walls, S. Patrick of Ireland and S. Vincent of Lerins will be remembered by English students. The community, founded about 442 by S. Honorat on this smaller island * that now bears its name, was composed of monks and hermits who lived together under a rule probably adopted from the Egyptian communities of the Nile Valley, but sufficiently distinct to have been recognized at the Third Council of the Church held at Arles in 451, and identified as the Abbey of Lerins. To this early period belong the present church of the modern abbey, the church of the Holy Trinity with its choir, sacristy, and possibly one or two of the little chapels dotted about in various parts of the island. Though these notes are chiefly concerned with the history of the abbey and the life of the monks, it is necessary to mention here for the sake of completeness the names of the monks who were at the time of the visit.

* In former times the island was called Lerum as distinguished from the island of the monks, the island of the monks.





Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

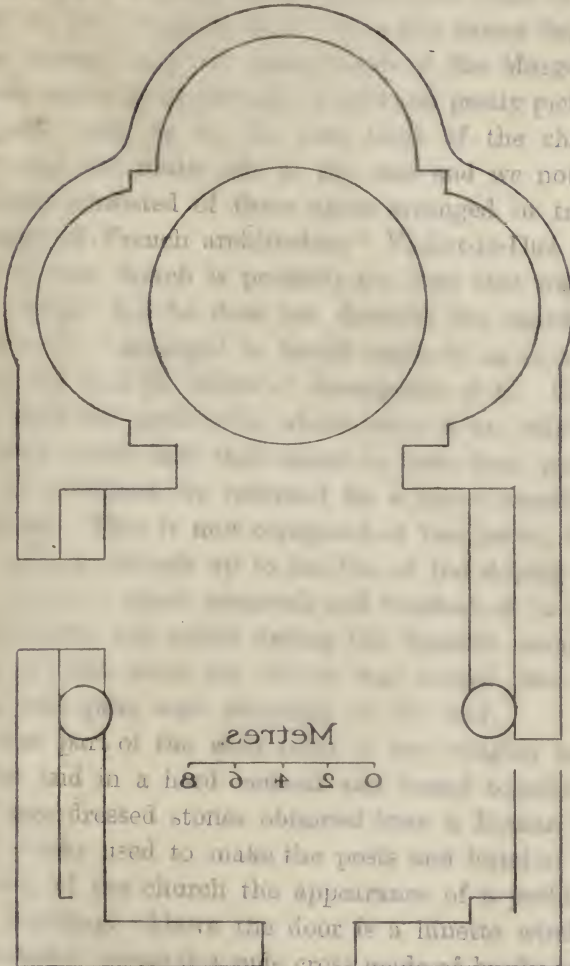
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This chapel stands in a quiet place, and is a fine example of the architecture of the temple. It is a small building, but it is very beautiful. The architecture is of the temple type, and it is very well preserved. The building is made of stone, and it is very strong. The roof is made of tiles, and it is very beautiful. The building is very well preserved, and it is a fine example of the architecture of the temple.

TRINITY CHURCH

S. HONORAT

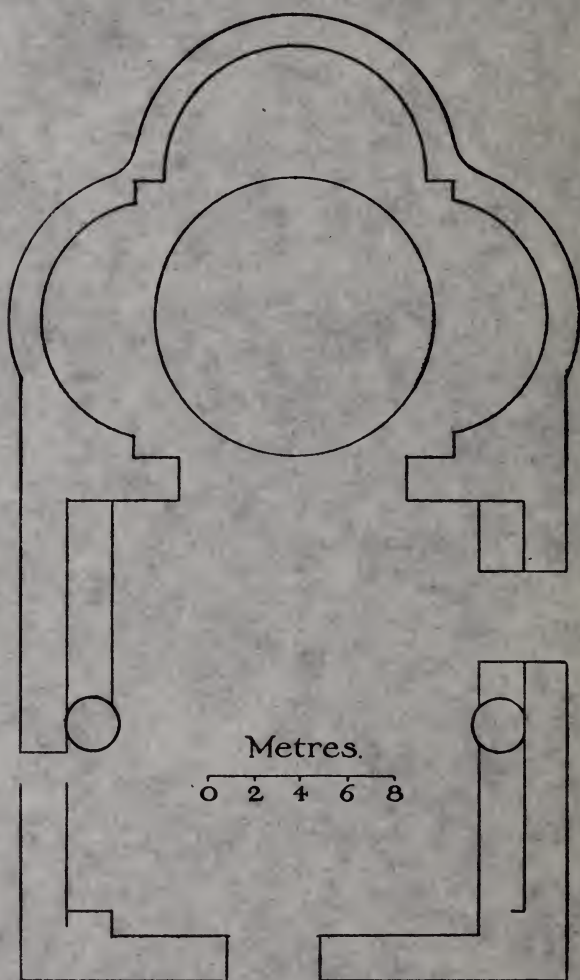
West and East ends



Meters

0 2 4 6 8 10

Plan of the church

*TRINITY CHAPEL.**S. HONORAT.**West and East ends.**Plan.*

Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

This chapel stands at the eastern extremity of the island near the ruins of a Roman building said by tradition to have been a temple. It is hidden in a grove of pine-trees and, being invisible at a distance, may easily escape the visitor's notice. From the little harbour in the straits between S. Honorat and Ste Marguerite a path winding about between the stems of the pine-trees leads to this romantic spot. On a fine sunny day the view across the channel with the green woods of Ste Marguerite as a background makes an exceedingly bright and pretty picture.

The path leads up to the west front of the church, and walking round the south side to the east end we noticed that the sanctuary consisted of three apses arranged in trefoil. In his dictionary of French architecture* Viollet-le-Duc says that the dome of this church is probably the first that was built in Western Europe, but he does not describe the sanctuary, and the fact that it is arranged in trefoil came to us as a surprise, for we had not seen M. Moris's† description of it. Continuing our walk round the north side, where there is an outbuilding of comparatively recent date that seems to have been used by the fisherfolk as a kitchen, we returned for a closer examination of the west front. This is now composed of two parts; the lower and older portion extends up to the line of the sloping roof, and the upper, made of small materials and finished off in a parapet with battlements, was added during the Spanish occupation of the island in 1635, when the church was turned into a fort or blockhouse and guns were mounted on the roof.

The lower part of the west front is very roughly built with small stones laid in a hard cement and bound together at the angles by large dressed stones obtained from a Roman building. The larger blocks used to make the posts and lintel of the door give this side of the church the appearance of a prehistoric or Cyclopean building. Above the door is a lunette window, and again immediately above it a rude cross made of bricks embedded in the masonry. There is some trace of a second cross, but no other attempt at decoration on this side of the building.

* *Dictionnaire de l'architecture française*, vol. vi. p. 348-350.

† *L'Abbaye de Lerins*. Henri Moris, Paris, 1909, Plon-Nourrit.

Entering by the door, placed a little north of the centre of the wall, we come into a broad nave covered by a barrel vault made of stone. This is divided into two bays by a rib following the contour of the vault and supported on each side by a detached pillar. These pillars have stone shafts and plain caps, and were no doubt obtained from a Roman building. The views of the interior of the nave taken from the points marked *a* and *b* on the plan are not much of a success, but the best that could be obtained in almost total darkness. The view of the north side shows the pillar and plain cap, and beyond it a small square window in the wall. The view of the south side shows the position of a door in the east bay. A sketch of the interior of the church taken from the door and looking eastward towards the central apse gives an idea of the general appearance, and shows an arrangement of seats round the walls similar to that in S. Giovanni at Sinis, in Sardinia. The nave and sanctuary are separated from one another by a wall pierced by a round arch springing from a plain cornice. The wall on the north side has at some time been decorated with wall paintings of figures, and a very faint trace of colour may be detected here and there. In places the black outline* of figures and designs are visible, but the damp and decay have obliterated the colours too much for the subjects portrayed to be distinguishable.

The trefoil sanctuary consists of a square chamber covered by a dome on pendentives and three semicircular apses covered by semi-domes; these semi-domes rest on a cornice at a different level and of a different pattern to that found in the nave arch. Each apse was lighted by a round-headed window; the central apse window is still open, but the other two are blocked up. The remains of a stone altar slab and the pillar or foot that supported it were found lying on the floor of the central apse; there were also traces of interment, showing that the chapel had been used for the same purpose and in much the same way as the trefoil chapels in the cemetery of S. Callixtus at Rome; the term shrine might be appropriate to describe this sanctuary. The dome is slightly conical, and rests on a plain cornice that separates it from the supporting pendentives; it is made of

* Compare this method of outlining in black with that in the Abu Seir chapel in Nubia, illustrated below.

TRINITY CHAPEL.

S. HONORAT.

*Interior of Trinity chapel from the West door
along the nave into the trefoil sanctuary.*

8. Emerging by the door, passed a little north of to the centre of the wall, we came into a small nave covered by a barrel vault made of stone. This is divided into two bays by a wall following the contour of the vault and supported on each side by a detached pillar. These pillars have stone shafts and plain caps, but were no doubt obtained from a Roman building. The views of the interior of the nave taken from the points marked *a* and *b* on the plan are not much of a success, but the best that could be obtained in almost total darkness. The view of the north side shows the pillar and plain cap, and beyond it a small square window in the wall. The view of the south side shows the position of a door in the east bay. A sketch of the interior of the church, taken from the door and looking eastward towards the central apse gives an idea of the general appearance, and shows an arrangement of seats round the walls similar to that in S. Giovanni at Siris, in Sardinia. The nave and sanctuary are separated from one another by a wall pierced by a round arch, springing from a plain cornice. The wall on the north side has at some time been decorated with paintings of figures, and a very faint trace of colour may be detected here and there. In places the black outline* of figures and designs are visible, but the damp and decay have obliterated the colours. The church is a very fine specimen of the style of the 12th century, and the subjects portrayed to be distinguished.

The trifoliate sanctuary consists of a square chamber covered by a dome on pendentives and three semicircular apses covered by semi-domes: these semi-domes rest on a cornice at a different level and of a different pattern to that found in the nave arch. Each apse was lighted by a round-headed window; the central apse window is still open, but the other two are blocked up. The remains of a stone altar slab and the pillar or foot that supported it were found lying on the floor of the central apse; there were also traces of interment, showing that the chapel had been used for the same purpose and in much the same way as the trifoliate chapel in the cemetery of S. Callistus at Rome; the term *chiesa* might be appropriate to describe this sanctuary. The dome is strictly conical, and rests on a plain cornice that separates it from the supporting pendentives; it is made of

* Compare this method of coloring to black with that in the And-Side chapel in Milan illustrated below.



dressed stones and built up in concentric rings. As already mentioned, it is said by Viollet-le-Duc to be probably the earliest example of a dome in Western Europe.

Returning now to the main door, and passing out to the south side, we come to the footings of some buildings that have now perished away. These consisted of a cloister and outbuildings, and when uncovered the steps leading into them were found to have been worn down and polished like marble by the pilgrims who came to visit the shrine. The masonry of the lower or original part of the church up to the line of the eaves and the later or Spanish addition with the parapet and battlements above can be clearly distinguished in the view of this side of the church. There seems also to be a break in the masonry where the nave and the sanctuary join, and this confirms our view that the two parts of the church were not built at the same time, and that the sanctuary is older than the nave. The window in the south apse, though blocked up, can be clearly distinguished; but the interesting detail of this part of the building is the ingenious device of the Spanish architect to support his parapet by the insertion of a kind of pendentive in the angle where the side apses join the central one. The view of the window in the central apse shows the decorative moulding that bears some resemblance to the moulding in the nave of S. Giovanni at Sinis in Sardinia.*

The Cloisters

The monastery was rebuilt in 1875, and on that occasion the mediæval church and all the older buildings except the cloisters were destroyed. The accompanying illustration will give an idea of what they are like, and the plain solid masonry with the waggon vault and pilasters bear a resemblance to the fabric of the Trinity chapel. A collection of marks in the south wall deserving careful notice are illustrated on the accompanying plate. They represent two chisels, a mallet, an angle measure, and an adze. The mallet in a more primitive form, accompanied by a chisel and a Maltese cross, will be found on a stone in the walls of the early nave of S. Saturnino at Cagliari.† We took

* Illustrated in vol. i. Plate 36.

† Vol. i. Plate 39. The similarity in these details may not be quite accidental, for S. Honorat possessed the important abbey church of Saccargia and adjacent lands near Sassari in Sardinia.

these to be emblems of our Lord's Passion, but the examples at Lerins explain what they really are, and we found some more of a similar kind exhibited in room L of the Kircherian Museum at Rome and the museum at Arles, and they are late Roman or early Christian.

Saint Sauveur.

At the west end of the Island stands an octagonal chapel now identified under the dedication to the Saint Sauveur. Prosper Mérimée * who visited Lerins in 1835 describes this chapel as a baptistery, and though there is no evidence of a font or water supply to serve it his conclusion is probably correct. He might have gone further and suggested that the baptistery was purposely placed here for symbolic reasons. The Christian life commenced at the west end of the island in the baptistery, and passing through the Abbey and church in the centre was completed at the east end in the place of entombment, that is the shrine in the Trinity chapel. M. Moris points out that by the decree of the Council of Arles the Abbot had the privilege of solemnizing the rite of baptism according to episcopal use.† The interior is now used as a wine-cellar by the proprietor of the neighbouring restaurant.

The six sides of the interior are recessed in niches and covered with semi-domes, the seventh side is the entrance, and the remaining side projects into a little semicircular apse covered by a semi-dome. The roof of the chapel is a very flat dome.

There are one or two other little rectangular chapels in the neighbourhood of the Abbey each provided with a semicircular apse, but there is nothing else noteworthy about them except their respective dedications,‡ and no features in the simple construction to help determine the dates when they were built.

The annals of the Abbey give no information as to the construction of the Trinity chapel, and the date can only be

* *Voyage dans le Midi de La France.*

† Compare this chapel with the baptisteries at Fréjus and Albenga described and illustrated in a later chapter.

‡ Moris, p. 380.



Reliquary of S. Honorat at Grasse Abbey church.

ROME.

Cemetery of S Callixtus West chapel.

(For the plan see next plate.)

guessed, from the general history of the Society, from the appearance of the architecture, and by comparison with similar buildings elsewhere.

After enjoying great renown and prosperity for the first two hundred and fifty years of its existence, the year 600 marks a turning-point in the fortunes of Lerins. It seems that the monks had elected one Aygulph to be their Abbot, and he introduced the rule of S. Benedict from Monte Cassino. The change was resented by a section of the community and led to a dispute that ended in a civil war, and the plunder and destruction of the monastery. The monks had hardly settled their differences and rebuilt it when the Saracens appeared on the scene, and for a second time it was destroyed and the monks to the number of some five hundred were killed. The community was resuscitated and re-endowed by King Pepin le Bref and the Emperor Charlemagne, and for a short time enjoyed a renewed prosperity. From Charlemagne's death to the close of the tenth century the Saracens became masters not only of the coasts of Provence, but of all the western part of the Mediterranean, and exacted tribute even from Rome itself. At this time the Pontiff, John VIII., occupied the Roman See and made a journey to south Gaul in a Neapolitan ship. There is no evidence that he landed at Lerins, but he must have passed close by on the way from Genoa to Arles, where he landed at Whitsuntide in 878.* The visit of a Pontiff to Lerins is, however, recorded on a painted wooden box or reliquary reputed to be of the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth, now preserved in the cathedral treasury at Grasse. The identity of the person represented has been much discussed. M. Moris concludes† that the visits of Callixtus II. (1119–1124) and Eugenius III. (1151) are legendary, and that of Adrian VI. (1522) occurred long after the reliquary was made. With the last part of this opinion I agree, and came to the conclusion that it was not later than the twelfth century. The dresses and the other objects depicted unfortunately throw no light on the question, and the suggested date rests chiefly on the shape of some escutcheons on the base of the casket that may be additions.

* Itinerary of the Popes, in *Trésor de Chronologie*. Mas Latrie. Also *Le Pape Jean VIII.* Lapôtre.

† Moris, p. 425.

The Saracens were not finally dislodged from the south of France till the time of William Count of Provence in 975. A century later the monastery had regained its former prosperity, and the fine fort that still stands on the south shore of the island was built in the abbacy of Aldebert (1075) to guard the community against the Saracens.

About this time, or a little later, the church and monastery, all but the ancient cloisters, were entirely rebuilt, and the works then executed lasted till the middle of the nineteenth century. A record of what they were like has fortunately come down to us from the description of a member of the Community written shortly before they were demolished.

There can be no doubt that the cloisters and the Trinity chapel were built long before the time of Aldebert, and though it is of course possible that they are as late as the revival in the reigns of Pepin or Charlemagne, it seems more probable that they existed before the community fell on the evil days that commenced with Abbot Aygulph and continued during the two centuries of Saracen oppression that ensued.

There are two other trefoil chapels in Provence, one near Toulon, respecting which no information is at present to hand; the other is the well-known building dedicated to the Holy Cross and attached to the monastery of Montmajeur near Arles. This chapel is known to have been consecrated in the first quarter of the eleventh century, and the architecture, the decorative details, and the vaulted roof instead of the dome are in the style that might be expected in a building of that date. Save in point of plan there is no similarity between these two chapels.

ROME *

Cemetery of S. Callixtus

NOTHING is known either of the date or circumstances of the erection of these chapels, or of the persons who were buried in them. All that can be said is that they are Christian, of early

* The chapels are referred to in *Die Altchristliche Architektur*. H. Holtzinger 1889, p. 246; also in *Journal of Roman Studies*, p. 107, vol. i, part i., 1911.

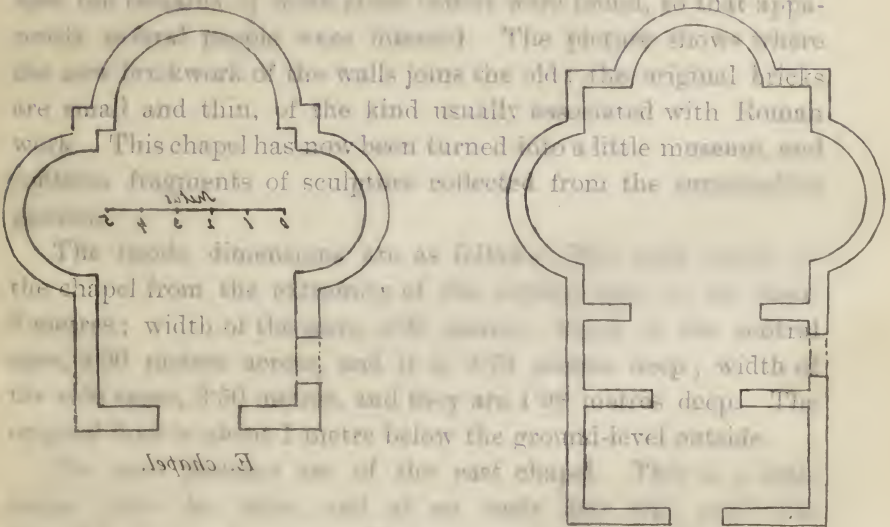


date, and were probably intended to be situated in the same place as the old church, for the fragments of sculpture collected from the surrounding area.

The first picture shows the church as it was in the 15th century, and the second shows the church as it was in the 16th century. The church was built in the 15th century, and the second picture shows the church as it was in the 16th century. The church was built in the 15th century, and the second picture shows the church as it was in the 16th century.

CEMETERY OF S. GALLIX, ROME

W. chapel, upper and south side.



E. chapel.

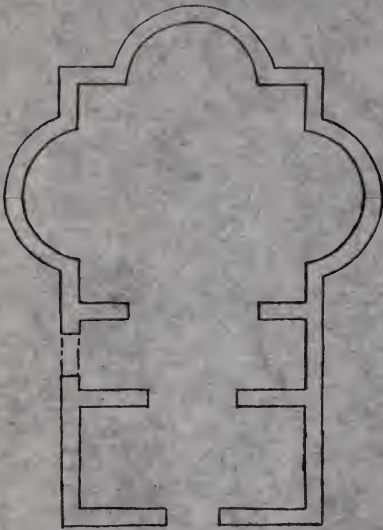
W. chapel.

Plans.

The church was built in the 15th century, and the second picture shows the church as it was in the 16th century. The church was built in the 15th century, and the second picture shows the church as it was in the 16th century.

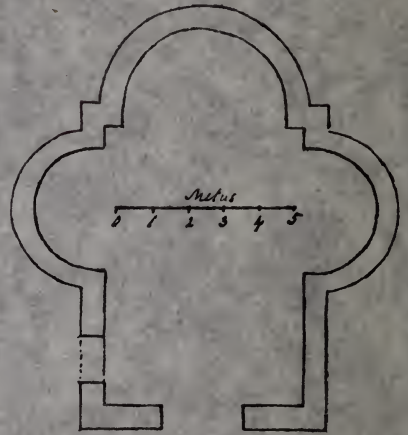
CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS, ROME.

1. W. chapel, apses and South side.



Metres.

W. chapel.



E. chapel.

Plans.

date, and were probably intended to be memorial or funerary chapels for the interment of prominent members of the Christian community.

The first picture shows the south-east front and the apses of the western chapel. The superstructure of the square nave is of course quite modern, dating from the demolition of the peasant's house that had been built up round it. This new work, following the lines of the old, takes the form of a lantern with round-headed lights in the gables.

The second picture shows the interior looking into the central apse, and it is taken from the temporary steps leading on to the old floor. The remains of an altar with a tomb underneath is seen in the foreground. At the foot of the central apse the remains of more stone coffins were found, so that apparently several people were interred. The picture shows where the new brickwork of the walls joins the old; the original bricks are small and thin, of the kind usually associated with Roman work. This chapel has now been turned into a little museum, and contains fragments of sculpture collected from the surrounding garden.

The inside dimensions are as follows: The total length of the chapel from the extremity of the central apse to the door, 9 metres; width of the nave, 5.25 metres; width of the central apse, 4.30 metres across, and it is 2.70 metres deep; width of the side apses, 3.50 metres, and they are 1.98 metres deep. The original floor is about 1 metre below the ground-level outside.

The next pictures are of the east chapel. This is a little longer than the other, and at an early date the nave was carried out some 4 metres. The principal door is in the south-west wall, and the pictures of the interior are taken from just within it. In the foreground are the marks of the original termination of the wall, and on the left of the picture, of a side door. There is no trace of a corresponding door on the opposite side, but probably one existed. It is not unusual to find small corresponding doors in this class of building. They occur in the Nubian church at Serreh, at Maccari, and at Delia, near Castelvetro in Sicily, and were perhaps intended to serve as separate entrances for the sexes, or to enable visitors to the shrine to pass across the chapel.

In this chapel remains of an important tomb were found in the central apse. The altar seen in the picture is of course modern. The appearance of the brick masonry is similar to that of the west chapel.

The inside dimensions are as follows : Total length from the extremity of the apse to the door, about 13 metres ; nave, 6 metres wide ; square intersection, 5·70 metres by 6 metres ; the central apse is 4·50 metres across, and the side apses 4·57 metres across.

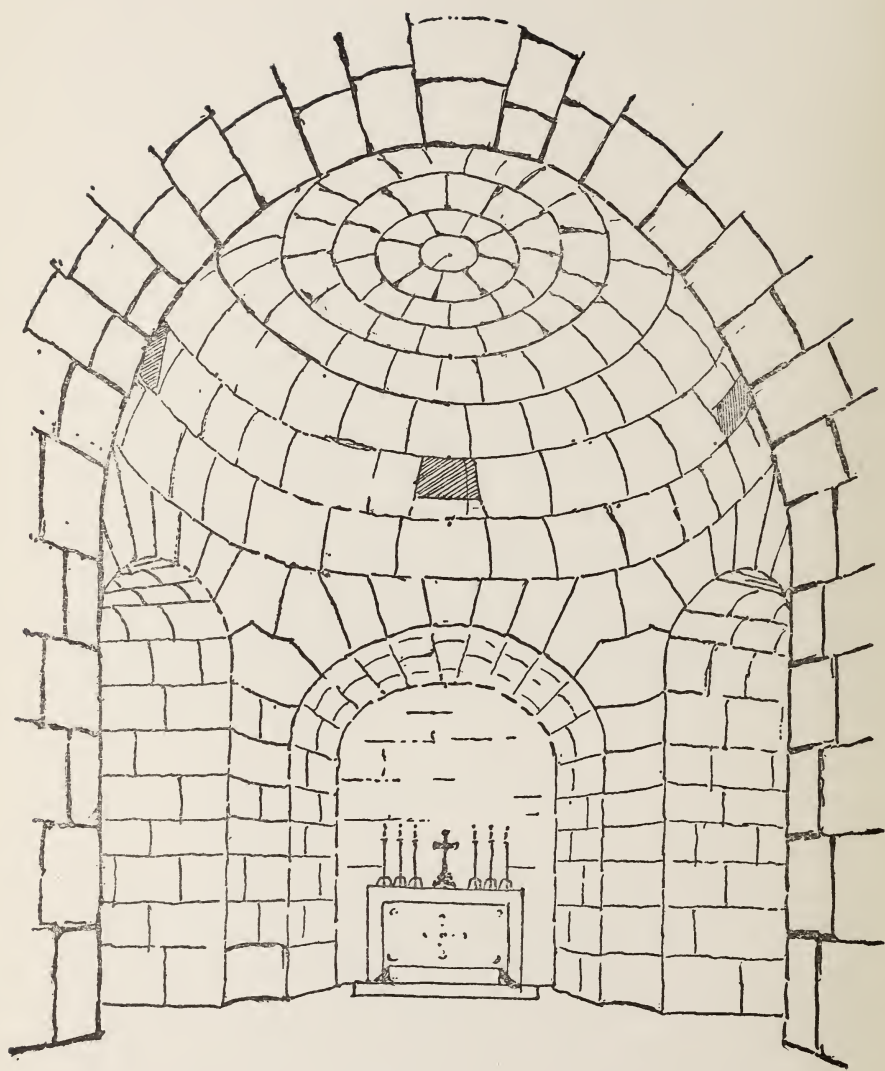
As the chapels in the cemetery of S. Callixtus were certainly used for burial, and it has been suggested * that the trefoil plan was copied from a pagan model, we have added to these notes a short account and illustrations of a remarkable building at the foot of Monte Cassino, near San Germano, known as the chapel of the Crocifisso. Though attributed to a pagan foundress, and said to date from the first century A.D., it is built in the form of a cross with a bee-hive shaped dome over the intersection : the plan in general resembles those of the two chapels at Camerina in Sicily and the Galla Placidia monument at Ravenna. The arrangement of bodies on three sides of a square chamber either built overground or dug out underground seems to have been common to both the Pagans and the Christians. While in Alexandria we happened to come across an example of this class in a little tomb chapel made of stone now preserved in the garden of the Museum, of this also we give a short account and a picture.

MONTE CASSINO

Chapel of the Crocifisso, near S. Germano

In a little village about a mile out of St. Germano on the road to Rome stands the chapel of the Crocifisso. It is situated at the foot of Monte Cassino, about 100 feet above the valley, and close to it on the south side are the remains of a large Roman amphitheatre. The top of this chapel, now covered by a house, and consequently invisible from outside, is on a level with the village street. The entrance is by a narrow lane with two flights of steps leading down from the main street of the village to a terrace or platform in front of the

* *Manuale di Archeologia Cristiana*, pp. 166-168. P. Sisto Scaglia, Rome, 1911.



door. From this spot there is a fine view westward over the country below and to the mountains above Gueta on the opposite side of the river.

The ground-floor is composed of a central chamber, transepts, and nave. The transepts have square piers and are roofed with square vaulting, as is the segment of a dome. This arrangement of the interior is very striking and at once recalls the plan of the cathedral of Florence.

The ground-floor of the building is composed of a central chamber, transepts, and nave. The transepts have square piers and are roofed with square vaulting, as is the segment of a dome. This arrangement of the interior is very striking and at once recalls the plan of the cathedral of Florence.

The floor and walls are made of rough-hewn stones of various sizes, dressed and joined together with mortar. The roof and dome are also made of rough-hewn stones of smaller size. The ground-floor is composed of a central chamber, transepts, and nave. The transepts have square piers and are roofed with square vaulting, as is the segment of a dome. This arrangement of the interior is very striking and at once recalls the plan of the cathedral of Florence.

MONTICELLO

Interior of the chapel from the nave, with organ and altar in the background. The transepts have square piers and are roofed with square vaulting, as is the segment of a dome. This arrangement of the interior is very striking and at once recalls the plan of the cathedral of Florence.

The transepts are as follows. The transept on the right has the door to the lower of the rooms of the upper story. The transept on the left has the door to the upper of the rooms of the upper story. The transept on the right has the door to the lower of the rooms of the upper story. The transept on the left has the door to the upper of the rooms of the upper story.

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MONTE CASSINO.

Interior of the chapel from the nave; with wagon vault above; the dome, foreshortened and not quite circular, covering the intersection; the chancel opposite and the transepts right and left.

door. From this spot there is a fine view westward over the country below, and of the mountains above Gaeta on the opposite side of the plain.

The ground-plan is a cross, forming chancel, transepts, and nave. The former have square ends and are roofed with wagon vaults shaped to the segment of a circle. This arrangement and the general appearance of the interior at once recall the Galla Placidia monument at Ravenna.

The intersection of the nave and transepts is covered by a beehive-shaped dome like that of Sta. Sarbana near Silanus in Sardinia, and the angles of the walls supporting it have been cut away to follow the contour line giving the appearance of a circular chamber. This detail has been carried out with great care and precision, and is obviously the work of masons possessed of considerable technical knowledge and skill.

The floor and walls are made of large, almost cyclopean blocks of stone, dressed and fitted together closely without mortar. The roof and dome are also made of dressed stones of smaller size. The accompanying photograph gives a good idea of these details; the plan and elevation I have taken from Schulz.* The lighting was effected by four small squints cut slantwise in the lowest stone course of the dome, and there is one over each arch. There are no inscriptions, masons' marks, or decoration of any kind, except some mural paintings of saints or monks in the porch on the right side of the entrance. These have now become indistinguishable, but seem to be work of the twelfth century or the thirteenth.

The dimensions are as follows: The extreme length of the chapel from the door to the back of the chancel is 10·56 metres; the width of the nave and chancel 2·35 metres. The distance across the intersection from the end of one transept to that of the other is 10·45 metres, and the transepts are 2·70 metres deep and 2·40 metres wide. The vaults are about 5·40 metres above the floor-level and the top of the dome 9 metres.

No definite or satisfactory information about this little building seems to be obtainable.† Local antiquaries say it was

* Schulz has taken his illustrations from Seroux d'Agincourt. Compare it with pictures on the same plate of SS. Nazaire and Celsa at Ravenna, built on the same model, where this tomb is illustrated on Plate XV.

† *Monte Cassino, Descrizione, &c.*, by F. della Marra, pub. 1775, p. cix.

built in prehistoric or Etruscan times; but more reliable opinions attribute it to a Roman lady who lived in the first century of our era, whose name occurs on a votive tablet found near by in 1757 with the following inscription: 'Ummidia C. F. Quadratilla amphitheatrum et templum Cassinatibus sua pecunia fecit.' She is supposed to be the sister of Caius Durmio Quadratus some time Governor of Spain, and of Syria in the time of Felix, and was born in A.D. 28 or 29.*

The general appearance and character of the masonry justify a preference for the Roman origin, and I do not think that there can be any doubt that it was built as a funeral chapel, and that it is pagan and not Christian. It was appropriated by the Church at a relatively late date, and in the middle of the eighth century was first dedicated to S. Peter. It was then dedicated a second time to S. Nicholas of Bari, in the time of Abbot Teodemaro; and again in the abbacy of Roffredo, 1208, during the pontificate of Innocent III. Finally it was dedicated to the S. Crocifisso in the seventeenth century, and the then Archbishop of Rossano endowed it for a mass to be said for him every Good Friday.

ALEXANDRIA

Tomb in the Museum

I understand that this tomb is one of many found in the Christian cemetery, and that it belongs to the Early Christian period. The interior measurement is 2·65 metres square and the same in height. The accompanying photograph shows how the shelves for the bodies are placed, and will illustrate better than a verbal description the arrangement of the construction and decoration that are certainly late Roman.

In the notes on the basilica at El Kef and on the ruined hall at Henchir Gebeul, we have pointed out that the ribbed semi-dome, an architectural detail of frequent occurrence in the apses of North African churches, seems to have been derived from the scallop-shell. We have in this tomb another case in point to illustrate this. It requires but a small modification of the plan

* Upon this family see Pliny, junr., Epis. 24, lib. 7.

to reproduce the ribbed semidome over the tombs on the three sides, and the latter, when converted from square chambers into half-circles to fit the semidome above, become the semi-circular apses of the common trefoil plan.

These Roman chapels should be compared with the chapels of Malvagna, Maccari, and Sta Theresa in Sicily, at Maatria and Gebioui in Tunis, and at Tebessa and Carthage in North Africa and the two monasteries at Sohag in Egypt. The plans are almost identical, and there is not much to be said about them. Thin bricks were used in the Roman chapels, dressed stones at Tebessa and Carthage, and rubble set in a very hard cement at Malvagna and Maccari in Sicily. The important difference between them is in the method of roofing the square naves, and this depended on the materials available.

In these Roman chapels the roofs of the naves were apparently made of timbers and tiles, for there are no signs of squinches or pendentives to support vaults or domes, and the walls are too thin to hold solid roofs. Timber and tiles have been used in the recent restoration, and no doubt rightly.

In the Tunis chapels the intersection was covered with a *voute d'arêtes* made of rubble and mortar, and built up over a substructure of tubes of pottery set in a kind of cement. This ingenious way of building an arch or a vault, still practised by the native inhabitants of Gafsa and Tozeur, in Southern Tunis, can also be seen in nearly every Roman building of importance in North Africa, and notably in the *thermæ* at Thelepta.

The naves of the Sicilian chapels are covered with flat domes: Malvagna and Maccari have squinches in the angles, and Sta Theresa the ordinary plain pendentive. The chapel of the Trinity on S. Honorat also has a dome on plain pendentives. The squinch does not seem to have found its way into Sicily or Tunis from the East before the Saracen conquest in the seventh century; the churches at Serreh, near Wady Halfa, on the Nile, show that the squinch and the plain pendentive were used concurrently in Egypt.

In the churches at Sohag the original roofs have been replaced by later Coptic domes on squinches; but there is evidence that

the square intersection in the Red monastery was covered with a timber and tile roof.

Three explanations are given of the origin and adaptation of this trefoil plan to Christian buildings; first, that it was derived from a common form of pagan tomb; secondly, that it was adopted for a baptistery in imitation of a form of bath-room frequently found in the Roman thermæ; thirdly, that it was invented at a critical point of Christian history to emphasize the doctrine and worship of the Holy Trinity.

It is no doubt true that the bodies buried in pagan tombs were frequently disposed in recesses to contain either coffins or urns, put on three sides of a square hall or central chamber; in this way, and to that extent, the arrangement of the bodies in these trefoil chapels is similar. The pagan tombs can well be illustrated from M. Gsell's work on the antiquities of Algeria, where plans and drawings are given of prehistoric tumuli, of rock-cut tombs and Roman mausolea; to these may be added the example of an overground sepulchral chapel in the garden of the museum at Alexandria. In most of these tombs there is a passage leading into a square room; on three sides of it there are niches or rectangular recesses, after the manner of the Galla Placidia chapel at Ravenna, or the tomb in the museum at Alexandria. In the rock-cut tombs, and some others, such as the chapel at Monte Cassino, the roofs of the recesses take an arched form. The tomb in the museum at Alexandria is arranged on this principle, and only requires the three sides to be built out into semi-domed apses to make it a trefoil. But so far as I know this projection of three apses making a trefoil plan is never found in a pagan building intended for worship or sepulchre.

The trefoil form of vapour bath-room, called the laconicum, frequently occurs in Roman thermæ, for example in those at Lambessa, built by the soldiers of the Roman garrison in the reign of Septimius Severus,* the thermæ at Thelepta of about the same date, where there are two trefoils, and in the monastery of S. Menas, near Alexandria, where the heating arrangements can still be seen under the floor.† I have been unable to discover

* Gsell, vol. i. p. 218.

† *La decouverte des Sanctuaires de Ménas dans le desert de Mareotis*, pp. 116 and 168, Kauffman: Published, Alexandria, by the *Société de Publications Égyptiennes*, 4 Rue du General Earle. 1908.

why this particular shape was so often used for a bath, but there must have been some practical reason which research may some day explain. The connection between a bath and a baptismal font is obvious enough, and the trefoil chapel attached to the basilica at Tebessa is quoted as an example of a building which may have served both purposes at different periods.*

The occurrence of the trefoil plan in a Roman bath disposes of the suggestion that it was invented by a Christian architect for a church or tomb, but hardly justifies preferring the second explanation to the first. But whatever may have been the origin, I am inclined to think that this plan was adopted by the Early Christians in imitation of a trefoil building in Palestine, now destroyed but then existing, and traditionally connected with our Lord's ministry: much in the same way, for example, as the 'round churches' were built by the Crusaders in imitation of a building supposed to have contained the Holy Sepulchre. And I may remind the student that the trefoil plan is not unknown in Jerusalem,† where an example will be found serving the purpose of crypt to a chapel of relatively late date built by the Byzantines and restored by the Crusaders. This building is described and illustrated in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January, 1899, in an article by Archibald C. Dickie, and it is considered to be one of the earliest Christian monuments in the city.‡

* See the notes on Tebessa below. This involves an assumption not justified by evidence that the basilica was built in Roman times for secular purposes and formed part of a group of municipal buildings that included a market and a public bath-house.

† Also the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

‡ I am indebted to Col. Sir Charles Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., for this reference.

CELLÆ TRICHORÆ.

SOHAG

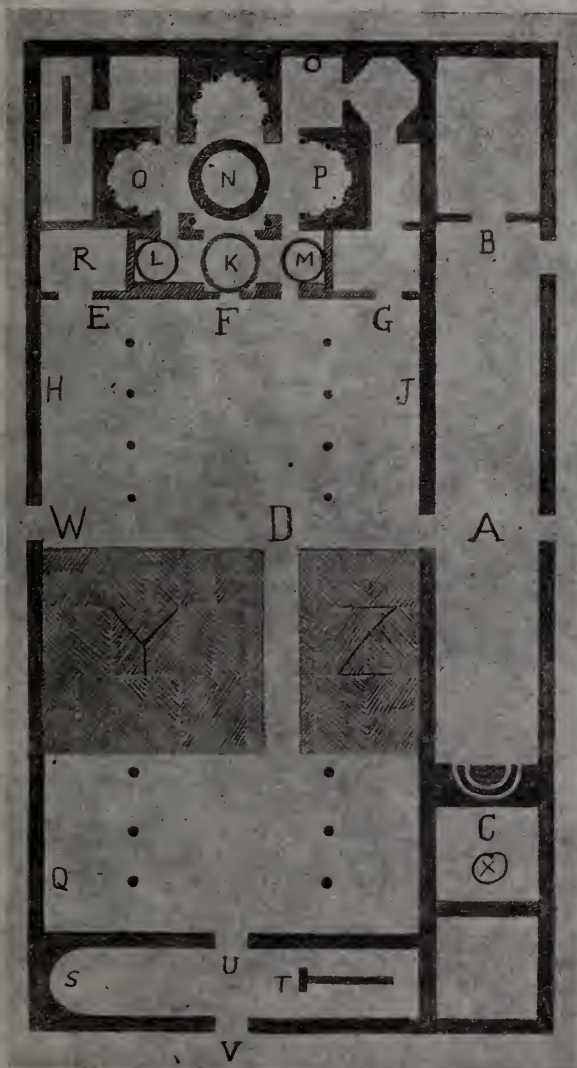
THESE two monasteries, known respectively from the materials used as the White and the Red, stand about a mile apart on the western fringe of the Nile Valley three miles from Sohag. They were built about the same time, and have been attributed to various Roman Sovereigns, the Emperors Constantine or Justinian, or the Empresses Helena or Theodora. In their way, they are by far the most important monuments of early Christianity in Egypt, and require several days apiece for careful study. The student who is not provided with introductions to friends in Sohag must be prepared to rough it in the full sense of the term, for the local hotel accommodation is primitive and more filthy than any I have met with outside China.

The White Monastery

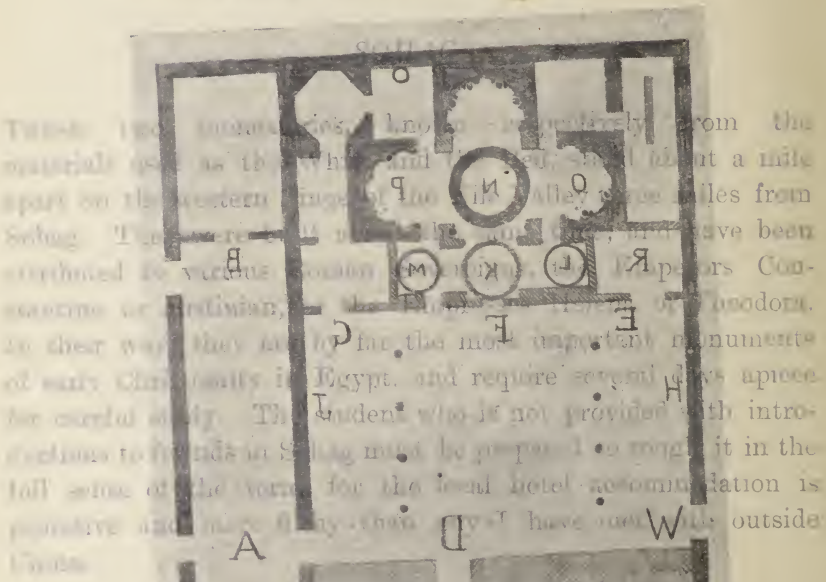
I will begin with the White Monastery, because it gives the better idea of a plan that is common to both.

The first general view outside, taken about 300 yards from the south-east corner, shows the desert on the left, the cultivated land on the right, and in the centre the monastery, looking like a great stone fort, with sloping walls topped with the projecting cornice common to ancient Egyptian architecture. No part of the buildings enclosed in these walls is visible from this point excepting two white domes belonging to the later Coptic restoration. The outside dimension of the monastery wall seen in the picture is about 80 metres long and about 20 metres high. The wall that now has really become a curtain,

SOHAG.

*White monastery.**General exterior view.**North door.**Early chapel in S. Narthex marked C on plan.**To face page 34*

Early chapel in S. N. marked C on plan.
 CELLA TRICHORÆ
 North door.
 General exterior view.
 White monastery.
 SOLING



The plan of the White Monastery, which gives the better idea of the plan of the building, is shown in the accompanying drawing. The first general view outside, taken about 300 yards from the south-east corner, shows the church on the left, the cultivated garden in the middle, and the white monastery, looking like a great white wall, with sloping walls topped with the projecting cornice characteristic of ancient Egyptian architecture. No part of the building is enclosed in these walls, it is visible from the point extending to the south, which belongs to the later Constantinian work. The entire dimension of the monastery wall runs to the south, the main wall being about 200 yards long. The wall that now has really become a curtain,



and is so described in these notes, was originally pierced by four doors, one on the west or desert side, one on the north side, and two on the south side; one of the last is now used as the entrance, and the others are blocked up.

In the original arrangement, the enclosure within the curtain wall was roughly divided into three unequal parts, of which the two smaller ones on the south and western sides were occupied by corridors, and the other third and larger part by a great church of basilican form provided at the east end with three apses built in trefoil shape to serve as sanctuary. All that now remains of this great church are the three apses covered by semi-domes, parts of the walls, and some fragments of decorative detail; the nave has been completely gutted, and till recently was filled with a number of small brick houses.

It will be easier for me to describe and the reader to understand the interesting points in this building if I refer to the letters on the plan and the corresponding letters on the pictures and proceed as if we had entered by the south door and were going round the place together.

Entering by the south door we stand in the corridor at the point A. There are two pictures looking towards the door, B, that leads into a chamber said to have been a library. On the left is the wall of the south aisle of the church, and on the right the curtain wall we have just passed through. At the top of both walls there are little round-headed windows in a row, and below them cornices with corbels. The corridor we are standing in was therefore covered by a timber ceiling resting on the cornice, and the monks' living rooms above it were lighted by the windows. The original fabric of the fifth century is made of stone, while the Coptic restoration of the twelfth century is of brick, and that distinction applies to every part of the monastery.

The next picture is also taken from A, but looking in the opposite direction towards C. C is the semicircular apse of a Coptic church that was built at an early date in this corridor. The apse was fitted in the usual way, with seats for the clergy and a Bishop's throne in the centre, the position of the latter being marked by a cross carved on a step-stone now lying just below the end of the fallen pillar. The apse was decorated like Announa and other North African churches, with pillars on each

side of the entrance. The arched building X, seen beyond, is a much larger Coptic erection covering a cistern or well.

From A in the corridor we pass through a door to D in the nave. I give a picture of this door, looking back from D to A, to show that the lintel is made of a block of stone with a triglyph carved on it obtained from a classical building, so that from this and an Egyptian fragment on the lintel of the north door and elsewhere it is clear that ancient materials were used by the architect.

The next picture, taken at D, is from my sketch-book. We are looking at the wall EFG, and the dome K, just visible on the top of it. The north wall of the basilica H is on the left, and the party wall between the basilica and the south aisle marked J is on the right. This party wall was made by the Copts of brick and was built up between the great pillars of the nave, on the south side, that are still seen embedded in it.

The next view is taken from the top of the wall EFG, looking at D, on the floor of the church, to show the place in front of the white door where the preceding sketch and views are taken from. This bird's-eye view shows the modern houses that still occupy the spaces Y and Z on the plan, and also the arrangement of the stone and marble pavement. Before the recent restoration all this part of the church was filled with houses, and the pavement space became a lane or street between them.

To return to D and the picture taken from my sketch-book: the reader will understand that we are now standing in what was the nave of the church and looking east towards the sanctuary. In the original church neither the wall EFG nor the dome K above existed, for these are Coptic additions made of brick after the original nave had been gutted. The Copts had then to satisfy themselves with the trefoil sanctuary for their reduced church, the reason for this being apparently that the original nave was covered with timber and tiles, while the roofs of the three trefoil apses were made of masonry, so that when the nave roof was burnt out (for there are traces of fire) only the roofs of the apses remained. The Copts then covered the square space N with a dome, made a narthex covered by three small domes, L, K, M, in front of it, and then built up the brick wall EFG to close their church in. If the reader will bear this in mind

SOHAG.

White monastery.

*Sketch of the ancient nave looking east from D
to the wall E.F.G on the plan; small domes
L.K.M above; and pulpit on the left.*

See plan on fly sheet 7.

*The pictures mentioned in the text, taken from
A to B on the plan, from D to A and from
the top of the wall E.F.G, are omitted.*

8 side of the entrance. The arched building X, seen beyond, is a much larger Coptic creation covering a cistern or well.

From A in the corridor we pass through a door to D in the nave. I give a picture of this door, looking back from D to A, to show that the lintel is made of a block of stone with a triglyph carved on it obtained from a classical building, so that from this and an Egyptian fragment on the lintel of the north door and elsewhere it is clear that ancient materials were used by the architect.

The next picture, taken at D, is from my sketch-book. We are looking at the wall EFG, and the dome K, just visible on the top of it. The north wall of the basilica H is on the left, and the party wall between the basilica and the south aisle marked J is on the right. This party wall was made by the Copts of brick and was built up between the great pillars of the nave, on the south side, the wall will be seen embedded in it.

The next view is taken from the top of the wall EFG, looking at D, on the floor of the church, to show the place in front of the white door where the preceding sketch and views are taken from. This bird's-eye view shows the modern houses that shall occupy the spaces V and W on the plan, and also the arrangement of the stone and marble pavement. Before the recent restoration all this part of the church was filled with houses, and the pavement was beneath a lane or street between them.

To return to the sketch-book: A is on the plan, from which the reader will see that the top of the wall EFG is marked in what was the nave of the church and looking east towards the sanctuary. In the original church neither the wall EFG nor the dome K above existed, for these are Coptic additions made of brick after the original nave had been gutted. The Copts had then to satisfy themselves with the roof sanctuary for their reduced church, the reason for this being apparently that the original nave was covered with timber and tiles, while the roofs of the three trefoil apses were made of masonry, so that when the nave roof was burnt out (for there are traces of fire) only the roofs of the apses remained. The Copts then covered the square space N with a dome, made a narthex covered by three small domes, L, K, M, in front of it, and then built up the brick wall EFG to close their church in. If the reader will bear this in mind



he will readily understand the illustrations and explanations that follow.

It will be perhaps more convenient to leave the nave for the moment and proceed at once to the door F in the brick wall, noticing the Coptic dedication crosses over the lintel.

Passing through the door F we enter the Coptic narthex and stand under the dome K, flanked by the smaller domes L and M. These are shown in the photograph taken from inside F, looking upwards.

The next view is taken from the same place in the narthex looking across N into the central apse. Three structural details will be noticed here; first that the central dome N is of Coptic brickwork and rests on four piers, next that the two piers between N and K have columns embedded in them, and thirdly that the apses O and P are separated by a passage from the piers and from the central apse. These details show that the space between the apses is now only partly covered by the dome N, and must in the original church have been roofed by timbers and tiles. So that when the latter was destroyed, and when the Copts covered this sanctuary by a brick dome, they had to make a square sub-structure to support it. This was done on the side nearest K by building up pilasters or piers round the ancient pillars that supported the chancel arch of the original church. The top of the capital of the pillar on the west side will be seen on the left hand of the picture projecting a little from the face of the pilaster.

No attempt appears to have been made to restore the basilica as a whole; all the Coptic architect did was to adapt the chancel of the old basilica into a small church or chapel as we now see it. Judging from what I have seen of these great Christian basilicas elsewhere in Africa, I imagine that when once a basilica had been destroyed, the same difficulty of reconstructing presented itself to the Coptic as to the Tunisian and Algerian architects, but perhaps even in a more pronounced way. As a general rule these great buildings were covered with timber and tile roofs, and when, as usually happened, these were destroyed by fire, the ways and means that enabled the original builders to obtain timber from Europe were no longer available. The restorers then adopted the expedient of dividing up the original structure into a number of square divisions or bays with transverse arches supported on

piers, and then of covering the square partitions thus made with small brick domes. If in this case the same scheme was ever adopted for the whole basilica, all that now remains is in the present church consisting of the square intersection between the apses and the bay of the nave next to them. In this case the western arch of the first bay was bricked up, the covered space constituted the present and reduced church, and the rest of the basilica was abandoned.

I now come to the ancient fabric. The semi-circular wall of the central apse is divided into a lower and an upper colonnade. In the restoration a wood architrave has been inserted from capital to capital to replace the original one that supported the stone frieze and a little cornice above it. This arrangement is the same in both colonnades, but in the upper one the stone frieze is gone and has been replaced by bricks in three rows. There are six columns in each row, and the intercolumn space is occupied by round-headed niches: these little niches are set in kinds of frames with pilasters on each side supporting what I may describe as broken gables. This peculiar design is repeated over and over again in both the monasteries, but can be best seen in the Red Monastery where the niches have escaped destruction. The canopies over them are semi-domes and plain barrel vaults alternately, usually decorated with various pretty patterns, flowers, fruit, birds, stags and peacocks; in one niche, on the north wall of the basilica, the peacock is represented with tail displayed facing the spectator. The barrel vault niches have usually a medallion with some device on the back wall.

Owing to interposition of the wood screen and altar, it was impossible to take a picture of the whole apse; the views taken in sections commence with the north corner of the lower cornice and continue round to the south. In the centre of the entablature above the lower colonnade is a square stone carved with a heraldic bird displayed: this I venture to say, with all deference to those who differ from me, is not a Holy dove but the Imperial eagle.*

It will be noticed that all the capitals are different. Some

* The Imperial eagle is frequently represented, as for instance over the main door in the narthex of S. Sofia at Constantinople.

SOHAG.

White monastery.

Trefoil sanctuary of the ancient basilica now covered by a Coptic dome; a modern wood screen in front of the chancel; the north apse on the left; a Coptic wooden lectern in the centre.

The pictures of the domes in the narthex are omitted.

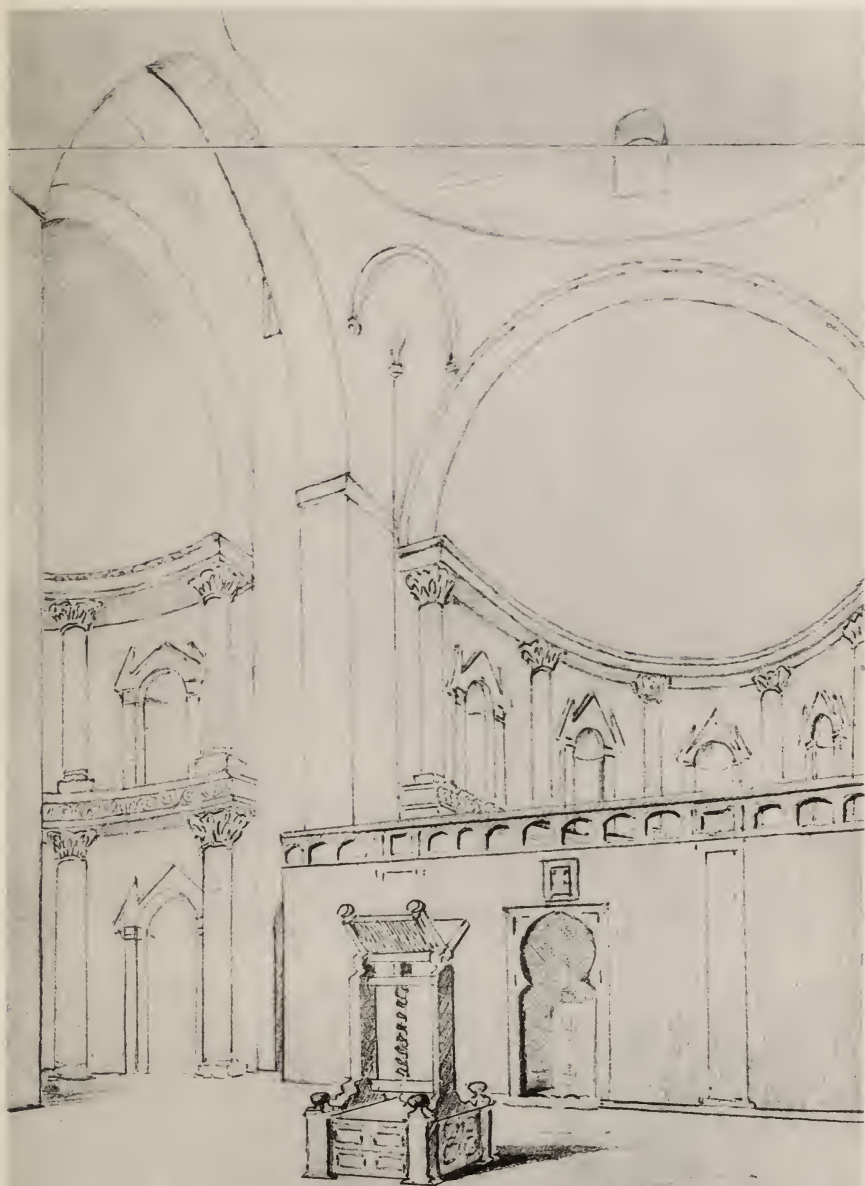
place, and those of delivering the square partitions thus made were small brick domes. It is in this case the same scheme was ever adopted for the whole basilica, all that now remains is in the present church consisting of the square intersection between the apse and the bay of the nave next to them. In this case the western arch of the first bay was bricked up, the covered space constituted the present and reduced church, and the rest of the basilica was abandoned.

I now come to the ancient fabric. The semi-circular wall of the central apse is divided into a lower and an upper colonnade. In the restoration a wood architrave has been inserted from capital to capital to replace the original one that supported the stone frieze and a little cornice above it. This arrangement is the same in both colonnades, but in the upper one the stone frieze is gone and has been replaced by bricks in three rows. There are four in each row, and the intercolumnar space is occupied by three-headed niches. These little niches are set in kinds of frames with pilasters on each side supporting a canopy of the ancient, but covered with plaster. The niches are of a Coptic dome; a wooden wood screen in front of the niche, the north apse on the left; a Coptic wooden screen in the centre. The niches have escaped destruction. The niches over them are painted with various pretty pictures, flowers, fruit, birds, stags and personages; in one niche, on the north wall of the basilica, the person is represented with tail displayed facing the spectator. The barrel vault niches have usually a medallion with some device on the back wall.

Owing to interposition of the wood screen and altar, it was impossible to take a picture of the whole apse; the views taken in sections commence with the north corner of the lower colonnade and continue round to the south. In the centre of the vestibule above the lower colonnade is a square stone carved with a heraldic bird displayed: this I venture to say, with all deference to those who suffer from me, is not a Holy dove but the Imperial eagle.*

It will be noticed that all the capitals are different. Some

* The Imperial eagle is frequently represented, for instance over the main door to the palace of the king at Constantinople.



SOHAG; White Monastery

E.H.Y.
1912

are either unfinished or what I may call shop or ready-made pattern to fill a vacancy; others look like Roman work, and two resemble the caps in the Red Monastery that seem to have been made specially for the occasion.

The entablature above the wood architrave is divided into two parts, the frieze, and a small projecting cornice; the latter has a serrated edge and the face is divided up into little square panels with rosettes and leaves; below the cornice is a running pattern of plain billets; I shall not attempt to describe the patterns carved upon the frieze in alternate rosettes and whorls. All three friezes are different, and on the whole more elaborate in the side than in the central apse.

The view of the upper colonnade shows that all the capitals are alike, and resemble closely those in the Red Monastery. On the second pillar there are two dedication crosses in high relief with the P turned the wrong way.

The painting in the half dome represents our Lord seated with the right hand uplifted, blessing in the Greek way. This is Coptic work of the thirteenth century and probably coeval with the rest of the brick structure.

So far as construction goes, the two side apses are repetitions of the central apse; they are separated from the latter, as I have already pointed out, by doors leading into the rooms at the back of the sanctuary, and in that respect the arrangement differs from that of the Red Monastery where the two side apses join the central one and the doors to the back are cut in the side apse walls.

I give some views of the side apses, and a general view of the south apse where a screen of wood stands in the way. In the south apse one of the columns in the upper row has a pretty dedication cross in a wreath of leaves carved in high relief. This should be compared with a similar cross on a pillar in the Red Monastery, and on the coin of the Empress Eudocia, illustrated on plate 42 in Vol. I. Some of the pillars in both the apses, and in both upper and lower rows, were obtained from an older building; notice in the upper colonnade of the south apse a shaft in two pieces of which the upper is fluted; and in the lower row of the north apse a hexagonal shaft.

There remains the question where the altar of the basilica stood. The Copts have shut off the central apse by a screen or

iconostasis and the altars within are concealed from the view of the worshippers. But it is certain that this was not the original arrangement of the sanctuary when the altar was habitually placed out in the open; and judging by the early basilicas in Tunis and Algeria the foundation of the altar here should be sought either in the intersection between the three apses, that is to say under the dome N, or if the precedent of the African churches be more strictly followed then further west in the first bay of the nave under the Coptic dome K, or even further west. The position under N is on the whole more likely, but the question could be determined by digging up the floor. What I have just said applies also to the Red Monastery. The present Coptic arrangement is of course a comparatively late alteration.

The plan will show the arrangement of the chambers behind the sanctuary. The construction of the semi-circular apse within a square outer wall and the introduction of chambers in the angles are common features in African churches. In one of the rooms on the south side is the Coptic font, and adjoining it an octagonal chamber that may once have been the baptistery. It is now used as a store room and much too dark to be photographed. This chamber has doors on the west and north sides; the former is the main entrance, and over it is a small round-headed lunette with acanthus foliage and a Greek cross (arms of equal length) carved in stone. The six panels of the octagon are decorated with niches (half dome and barrel vault tops) similar to those in the apses; the semi-circular half domes and the waggon vaults over them are decorated with scallop shells, and in the gable over the north-east and south-west panels are figures of a tall jar with vine and grapes issuing from it. Above the niches a cornice is decorated with rosettes and stars like that in the apses of the church.

To reach the chambers on the north side of the sanctuary we have to return to the north apse by crossing the chancel. Here are two other rooms, one of which forms a corridor leading by a broad staircase to the roof. These stairs are part of the original structure, and in the walls are fragments of carving obtained from an Egyptian building. The views of the nave looking down from the roof and of the cupolas have already been referred to.

SOHAG.

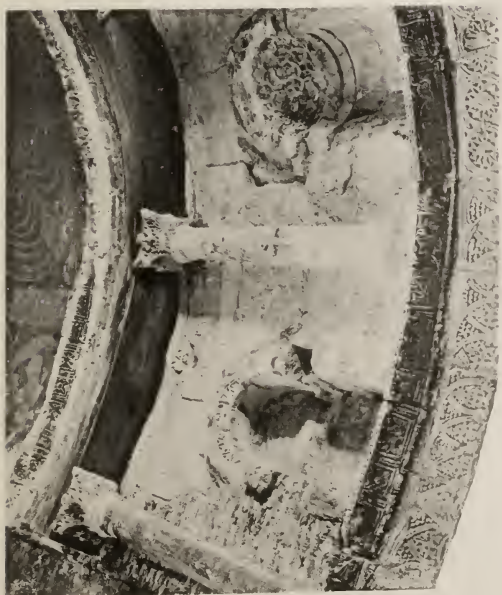
WHITE MONASTERY.

*Details in central apse, with dedication cross
on a pillar shaft; and the Imperial eagle in
cornice: niches and canopies.*

To face page 40

01

The plan will show the arrangement of the chambers behind the sanctuary. The construction of the semi-circular apse within a square outer wall and the introduction of chambers in the angles are common features in African churches. In one of the rooms on the south side is the Coptic font, and adjoining it an octagonal chamber that may once have been the baptistery. It is now used as a storeroom and much too dark to be photographed. The west door is in the central apse, with large windows on either side, and north and south windows in the gable. The west wall is a small round-headed archway with a Greek cross (arms of equal length) carved in stone. The six panels of the octagon are decorated with niches (half dome and barrel vault tops—similar to those in the apses), the semi-circular half domes and the waggon vaults over them are decorated with scallop shells, and in the gable over the north-east and south-west panels are figures of a tall jar with vine and grapes issuing from it. Above the niches a cornice is decorated with rosettes and star-like floral in the apse of the church.



In the chamber marked R on the plan are some fragments and capitals that have been collected from various parts of the building. Some of them are Coptic, some Roman, and some belong to the later period when the native artists introduced designs of their own, copied more or less from Roman models like those in Tunis and Algiers. There is nothing Byzantine about them. Duplicates of a plain and graceful capital will be found in the museum at Alexandria and in the mosque of Amr at Cairo.*

To visit the west end of the church we have to return to the nave and pass through door D.

The lower part of the wall H was decorated with a series of niches, above them was a row of round-headed windows, above them again square holes to take the joists of a triforium that was also lighted by a row of round-headed windows, and finally above all are the stone corbels to support the roof.

The niches are constructed on much the same plan as those in the apses, and the arches over them are carved with various designs, scallop shells, peacocks, deer, flowers, vine and grapes, and interlaced foliage. The most original is a peacock with tail erect facing the spectator in a niche in the north wall. This wall was pierced by the north door that is now blocked up. The picture of it from outside is taken to show the crosses on the lintel and also a carved stone from an Egyptian frieze. Between D and W, that is to say on the north side of the nave, are the remains of a pulpit. The position should be compared with that of one of the churches at Faras in Nubia.

We pass now to the west end of the nave. As the plan shows the new houses YZ abutting on the walls of the basilica are built across the middle of the nave, leaving a narrow passage or lane between them. Beyond these houses, and between them and the west wall of the basilica, there is an open space corresponding with the last three bays of the nave. The next view taken from this spot shows two of the pillars and the north wall Q decorated with more niches. In the north-west angle of the nave there are the remains of a Coptic building covered with a dome and of a fine squinch that supported it.

The main door was in the west wall of the basilica and on

* See illustrations of capitals at the end of this book.

each side were two niches like those in the apse. Passing through this door we come into the narthex that separated the west wall of the basilica from the outer wall of the monastery. The view looking north shows an apse covered with a brick semi-dome supported on a cornice with the original wood architrave and pillars. The view looking in the opposite direction shows the south end T pierced by two doors, separated by a pilaster decorated with a niche. One of the doors led to a staircase and the other to a small room. On the left and right of this view are niches of the usual form and beyond them the doors U and V. The photograph of V is taken from outside.

The Red Monastery

The Red Monastery stands about a mile north of the White Monastery. The road, if such it can be called, passes along the border of the desert and the cultivated land through two small villages occupied by an agricultural population that is mainly Christian.

The ground plans of the White and Red Monasteries are substantially the same, but the latter is the smaller of the two, and though there is less of it the parts that remain are in better preservation. It has also been carefully and sufficiently restored to preserve it from further damage.

The main entrance was by the south door A under an elaborately-carved lintel decorated with little crosses. Opposite this door in a group of buildings outside the Monastery is a rectangular room with a domed roof containing the Epiphany tank. This room is of no particular interest, and was too dark to be photographed.

Entering the south door A we come to an open space. The major part of this space, bounded by the wall opposite on the north side, was occupied by a large basilican church and a corridor on the south side of it. We are standing in the corridor C and looking across the nave to the north door D, decorated with a handsome carved lintel. The original trefoil sanctuary stood at the east end on the right of the view and has been converted into a church by the Copts in the same way as the White Monastery was treated. The work of restoration was only partly accom-

SOHAG.

WHITE MONASTERY.

Apse in West narthex at S on plan (see fly sheet 7).

RED MONASTERY.

South Door.

II

only side door like niches like those in the apse. Passing through the door we come into the narthex that separated the west wall of the basilica from the outer wall of the monastery. The east corner of the narthex shows an apse covered with a brick mosaic supported on a cornice with the original wood architrave and pilasters. The view looking in the opposite direction shows the south end T pierced by two doors, separated by a pilaster decorated with a niche. One of the doors led to a staircase and the other to a small hall. On the left and right of this view are niches of the usual form and beyond them the doors U and V. The photograph of V is taken from inside.

The Red Monastery

The Red Monastery stands about a mile north of the White Monastery. The road, if such it can be called, passes along the border of the desert and the cultivated land through two small villages occupied by an agricultural population that is mainly Christian.

WHITE MONASTERY

The ground plans of the White and Red Monasteries are substantially the same (see fig. sheet 77). The plan of the White Monastery is better known than that of the Red Monastery. It has a south door. The main entrance was by the south door A under an architrave carved lintel decorated with little crosses. Opposite this door is a group of buildings outside the Monastery is a rectangular room with a domed roof containing the Epiphany icon. This room is of no particular interest, and was too dark to be photographed.

Leaving the south door A we come to an open space. The major part of this space, bounded by the wall opposite on the north side, was occupied by a large basilican church and a corridor on the south side of it. We are standing in the corridor and looking across the nave to the north door D, decorated with a mosaic carved lintel. The original trefoil sanctuary stood at the east end on the right of the view and has been converted into a church by the Copts in the same way as the White Monastery was restored. The work of restoration was only partly accom-



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published at the same time as this, and a small room or chapel was added to the west end of the Coptic church, and a modern stone building was erected on the site of the old church. A modern stone building was erected on the site of the old church. A modern stone building was erected on the site of the old church.

The plan of the church is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan.

The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan.

RED MONASTERY.

North channel of the

Inscription in Coptic characters
(with a translation in Arabic.)

See page 12.

The illustration and plan referred to on the
page opposite 43 are omitted. It will be under-
stood that the ground plan of the two basilicas
was substantially the same.

The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan.

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The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan. The plan is shown in the accompanying plan.

RED MONASTERY.

North chancel apse.

*Inscription in Coptic characters.
(with a translation in arabic.)*

See page 45.

*The illustration and plan referred to on the
page opposite 43 are omitted. It will be under-
stood that the ground plan of the two basilicas
was substantially the same.*

plished at the time of my visit, and a small piece of brick wall that formed the west end of the Coptic church was still standing between the pillars of the ancient church. A modern wood roof was erected to protect the old stone masonry behind.

It will be seen that the adjustment of the three apses R, S, T forming the trefoil sanctuary is different to that of the three apses in the White Monastery, and as the intersection Q is square they fit close up to one another.

The nave was separated from the sanctuary by a great wall from L to P. This was pierced in the centre by the chancel arch V, at the two extremities by two large doors at L and P, and on either side of the chancel arch by two smaller doors at N and N. If the reader will refer to the pictures and the plan they will explain how this wall was divided up, and how the original sanctuary had been closed in and converted into a church in the same way as the White Monastery.

I will commence with the view X to Y because the details of the wall can be clearly distinguished. This shows the chancel arch V, supported by two detached pillars K, K. Y and Z are pilasters of the pier adjoining K, K. The cap on the pilaster nearest the spectator Z is a restoration uncarved, and supported an arch across to the pillar H. Y on the opposite side of the chancel arch has the original carved cap and supported an arch across to the pillar F. H and F are the two pillars seen at the corners of the Coptic brick wall G in the general view.

The niche over N is seen in the same view taken from X to Y. It is flanked on one side by the pilaster Z (with the uncarved cap) and on the other by the smaller pilaster c with cap at a much lower level than that of the capital on Z. From c an arch crossed to the pillar d, and from a on the opposite side an arch crossed to b.

I must confess that this arrangement of piers and pillars in reference to the colonnade of the nave is to me very puzzling and difficult to account for.

Passing now into the sanctuary Q, we see that the plan of decorating the walls of the apses with a double colonnade and niches is again repeated here. In this case the capitals are all alike and obviously made for this church.

The interesting part of the sanctuary is the roof over Q, and

I give a view of it as it now is, and, by M. Strzygowski's permission, as it was before restoration when the Coptic brick dome still covered the space Q.

The intersection was covered by a square lantern lighted by three windows in each side; each window was flanked by two little pillars standing on a cornice. The superstructure is modern, and the present dome is, of course, merely a makeshift resting on the walls of the lantern that have been carried up above the pillars. Strzygowski's view shows how the Copts had replaced the original roof by a dome lighted with small windows; notice the way the Coptic architect made use of the little pillars to support his squinches in the angles. The photograph is interesting also because it shows how the inter-column spaces were filled up with bricks to support the entablature where the wood architrave was gone. I do not suppose there is any doubt that in the original building the little pillars in the lantern flanked windows, and supported little gables or canopies, and that the whole square was covered by a timber and tile roof. The student who wishes to know what an intersection of this kind looked like when covered by a timber roof will get a good idea from the Norman church of S. Spirito at Palermo.

The view of the dome Q is taken looking up into the lantern; the arch of the chancel apse is in the bottom left-hand corner, the arch of the north apse in the top left-hand corner, and the arch of the south apse on the bottom right-hand corner. The apex of each semi-dome is ornamented with a flat scallop like that in the octagonal room in the White Monastery.

Coming now to the apses themselves, it will be seen that there are four pillars in each colonnade of the chancel apse and five in the others. As all the pillars and their caps are of the same pattern it seems probable that they were made for the occasion, and not taken from an older building. The intervening spaces are again filled up with little gabled niches in which domed and vaulted roofs are placed alternately. The wood architrave has been restored, and above it is a plain frieze with a carved cornice on the top.

As in the White Monastery so here the roofs of the apses are covered with paintings of saints and Coptic legends. The

SOHAG.

Red monastery.

*Trefoil sanctuary of the ancient basilica ; Coptic wood
screen in front of the chancel ; north apse on the left.*

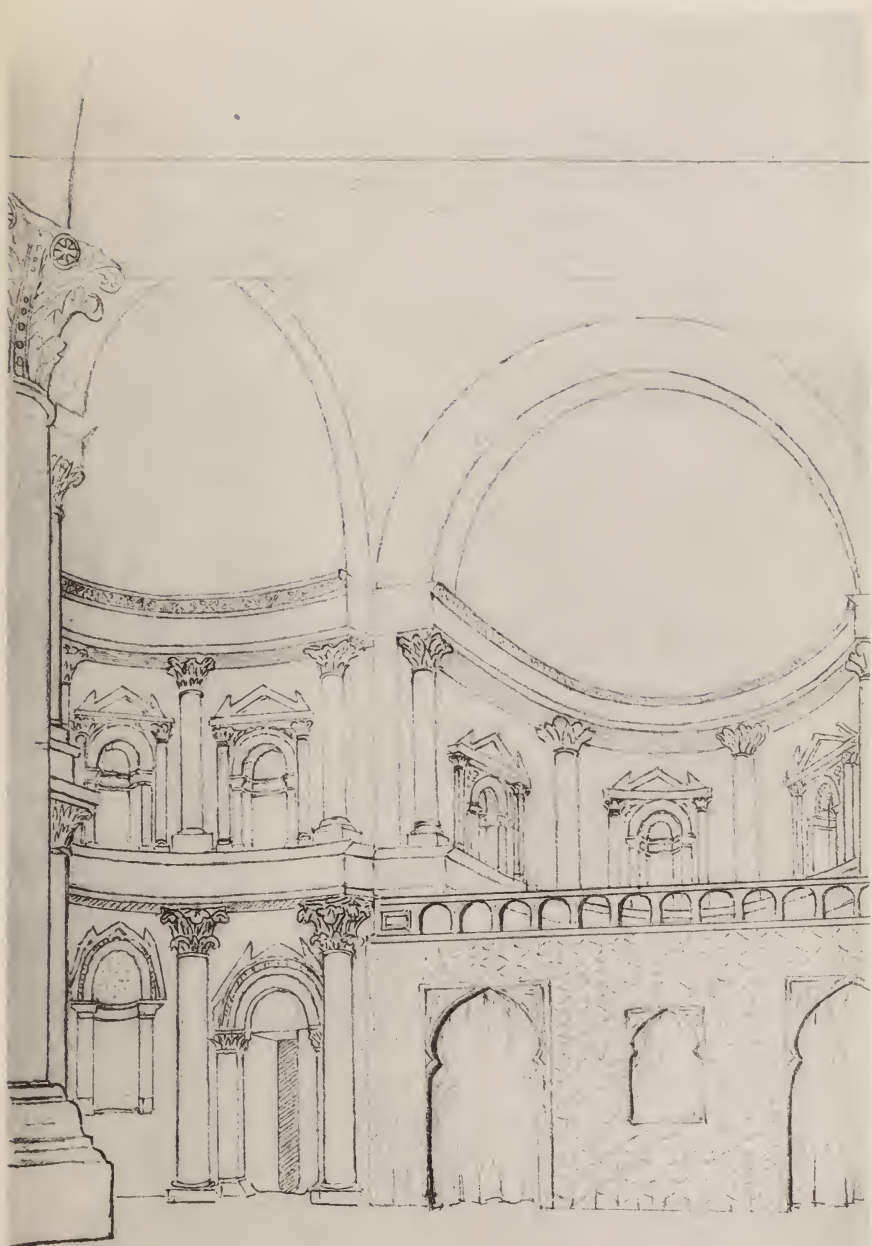
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SOHAG Red Monastery

E.H.J.
1912

best preserved is in the north apse, and at the east side. The subject here seems to be our Lord and the Blessed Virgin. On the left of the latter there are two figures seated in regal attire; above them a man is standing pointing to our Lord. Between the two figures there is a short inscription in Coptic characters, and the female figure holds a tablet on her knee, also inscribed with a longer Coptic legend. I am indebted to my friends Suwaris Basta and his brother for this inscription to which an Arabic translation is added. This is interpreted: 'I the humble monk Lobus son of Yuanés priest of Saint Schenuda Monastery and servant of God,' and the date 'Baaba 1017 of the Coptic Martyrs,' that is, September, 1298, A.D.*

According to the usual African plan the apses are built inside a square outer wall, the intervening spaces being filled with small chambers. Access to them is by doors in the side apses. On the south side in the first room is a jar stuck into the wall that does duty as font for the Copts. This room and the one corresponding to it on the north side are covered with flat domes decorated in the middle with a stone rosette in the shape of a chrysanthemum. In the adjoining room on the north side there is a slab or table such as would be used in a chapel of the prothesis.

Before leaving this part of the church I should again point out that the floor level of the nave and chancel is the same, and that there are no indications of seats for the clergy, or of the altar. The latter stood either under the intersection, or as seems more likely in front of the chancel arch, where the Coptic wall with a door in it now stands.

In the notes on Tunis I have pointed out how in Roman capitals at El Djem, a rudimentary cornucopia or torch-handle † ornament, known to French architects as the caulicole, is always prominently introduced in the acanthus leaf design. In process of time this ornament gradually changes character, and in the native Berber caps it disappears altogether. In the caps here

* The student must verify this inscription for himself. I made a note of it at the time and asked my friend Suwaris to have it copied for me. The inscription I noted was in the semi-dome over the north apse of the Red Monastery.

† Mr. Crowfoot points out rightly that this torch-handle is really a stalk of the foliage represented.

we see the transition. The torch handle is represented by a number of beads diminishing in size, forming a kind of tail in between the leaves. In the fine capitals of the chancel arch pillars and in the caps of the pilasters supporting the carved stone over the north gate, this device is introduced to support little Greek crosses. This is repeated in the caps of the flat pilasters a, c and Y, but in place of the crosses there are rosettes.

There is a Latin dedication cross on the soffit of the lintel of the door leading to the diaconicon in the Red Monastery, and several examples of the Maltese and Greek types. But as a general rule crosses afford no safe guide to a date, for the Latin and Greek forms are found together in almost every African church of importance, and in work that must be of about the same date.

According to the local and early tradition these monasteries were founded by the monk Schenouda, to whom many churches in Egypt are dedicated. He flourished in the first half of the fifth century, and took a prominent part in the history of the Egyptian Church. The style of architecture, the use of materials taken from Roman buildings, the presence of certain details in the decoration, and the absence of others, justify a preference for the early part of the fifth century, but this evidence is not conclusive, and there is, of course, none to identify Schenouda as the founder. Moreover the appearance of these Monasteries, the circumstance that old materials are frequently found in the fabric of the White Monastery, while the Red appears to have been made of new, suggests that they are built at different times and that the White Monastery is by a little the older.

I base no argument in favour of this date on either the basilican plan of the church or the trefoil shape of the sanctuary. The former is too common, and the latter too rare, to be of any assistance. It is, however, a remarkable fact that a trefoil building is associated with so many of these early monasteries. Sometimes as here, and in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, in the prominent place of the sanctuary, or in

SOHAG.
RED MONASTERY.
North Apse.

we see the transition. The torch handle is represented by a number of beads diminishing in size, forming a kind of tail in between the lenses. In the fine capitals of the chancel arch pillars and in the caps of the pilasters supporting the carved stone over the north gate, this device is introduced to support little Greek crosses. This is repeated in the caps of the flat pilasters a, d and Y, but in place of the crosses there are rosettes.

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subsidiary places as at the monastery of S. Menas, at Tebessa, in the Damus el Karita at Carthage, at Monmajeur and S. Honorat de Lerins in Provence, in Armenia, and elsewhere. In these two monastic churches, as in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, we have examples of the cella trichora using the words in their real meaning as the trefoil choir or sanctuary of a great church and not merely as detached cells or chapels.

In considering the decorative detail we stand on surer ground. There is evidence that in the White Monastery some of the pillars and capitals were obtained from an older building; but in the Red Monastery they are certainly contemporary with the church itself. There is nothing at all here like the true Byzantine capital as we find it in Europe, in Tunis and Algiers, or in the neighbourhood of Cairo or Alexandria. The forms are essentially Roman and they only resemble Byzantine work in so far as the sculptor departed from the stiff conventional representation of foliage in Roman patterns and attempted to copy nature more closely. Viewed in that light, these transition styles which are no doubt to be attributed to the native provincial workers and usually dubbed debased, are a great improvement. It needs but a glance to see that the decorative details at Sohag are based on Roman and not on Byzantine models, and as the sculptor was certainly not influenced by the Byzantine designs that did find their way into lower Egypt, the inference seems to be that they were produced before the middle of the sixth century.

The presence of materials taken from Roman buildings raises other considerations. In Algiers and Tunis we may certainly take Justinian's conquest in 535 as a convenient terminus a quo for fixing the date of a building where Roman materials have been used, for the Roman buildings in those two provinces were in the main destroyed by Genseric and his successors for military or political reasons. Owing to incessant war between the Vandals and the Berbers, no attempt was made to rebuild the Roman cities that were destroyed until Justinian's generals had broken up the Vandal kingdom and resettled the provinces. By that time paganism was so far discredited that the temples became useless, and were either converted into churches or broken up for the materials.

The truth is that the history of Algiers and Tunis in the fifth and sixth centuries is so well marked off into distinct periods by the invasion and ultimate expulsion of the Vandals and the final destruction of the Roman Empire by the Arabs in the seventh, that it is comparatively easy to assign, if not a date, at least a period to any building of importance either before or after the Vandal occupation or before the Mahometan conquest.

In Egypt nothing exactly corresponds to the Vandal conquest that in Algiers and Tunis so profoundly affected the older Roman architecture and caused the destruction of fortifications and public buildings and the use of the materials for building churches. There is little doubt that for an appreciable period after the proclamation of Christianity the pagan temples in Egypt were not disturbed ; but from the reign of Theodosius onward many were destroyed either by the zeal of monks and converts or by the State as part of an organized endeavour to suppress paganism. I offer these considerations for what they may be worth and the student must judge for himself whether the slender evidence obtainable justifies the traditional foundation of these monasteries by Schenouda. It seems certain that these monasteries were founded long before the Arab conquest.

SICILY

CASTIGLIONE

S. Domenico

SINCE we visited Sicily in 1908 Professor Orsi has discovered a Byzantine church near Castiglione. This building is of considerable interest, as well for the architecture as for the ritual arrangement of the triple apse in trefoil, showing that this plan of providing for the Greek rite was not unknown in Sicily.

The term Byzantine is strictly applicable to this church because there are no Arab or Norman features about it. The situation is remote and difficult to find, but the following directions will enable the traveller to locate it. He will probably make the excursion, as we did, from Taormina, and by starting early and using a motor-car the chapel at Malvagna can be visited on the same day.

After leaving Giardini the high road to Catania skirts the sea-shore and crosses the Alcantara by an iron bridge. Just beyond the bridge a branch road runs in a westerly direction, following the course of the river towards Randazzo. The first town of importance reached is Francavilla, and here the road bifurcates, leading on the right to Randazzo by Mojo and Malvagna, and on the left to Castiglione, a picturesque mediæval town perched on the top of a high rock commanding the valley. The road follows the river Alcantara, and passing by a little Norman chapel and over a bridge bifurcates again at the foot of the Castiglione hill. There the road on the left leads up into the town and on the right goes to Randazzo. At this point it will be necessary to enquire for the property of a local squire, Signor

Cav. Giuseppe Sardo Ruggieri, situated about half a mile down the Randazzo road and close to the right bank of the Alcantara.

The church of S. Domenico stands in a field about a quarter of a mile from this gentleman's house. It is unfortunately now used as a cattle-shed, and on the occasion of our visit was in a ruined and filthy condition. Enough however is left to show that when perfect it was a graceful little building neatly planned and skilfully built of stone rubble set in a hard cement, with some bricks and blocks of lava used for decorative effect. But as so frequently happens in these parts, no account seems to have been taken of the proximity of Etna,* and the whole fabric has been riven from top to bottom by earthquake. Indeed the church would now be a shapeless mass of rubble but for the cupola over the nave; and S. Domenico and the church of the Catalani at Messina illustrate what I have noticed elsewhere, that in practice the dome proved to be the most enduring and binding form of roof.

Reference should here be made to the ground-plan and the illustrations. The former shows that the church is correctly orientated and consists of two parts, a choir with a semicircular apse for the sanctuary at the east end and narrow aisles on the north and south sides. The prothesis and diaconicon, necessary adjuncts to a Byzantine church, required for the due performance of the Greek liturgy, and usually placed in the east wall on either side of the central apse, are represented here by two little niches placed in the thickness of the north and south aisle walls facing one another. The nave, separated from the choir by a lofty round arch, is a rectangular room divided into two bays and flanked by narrow aisles.

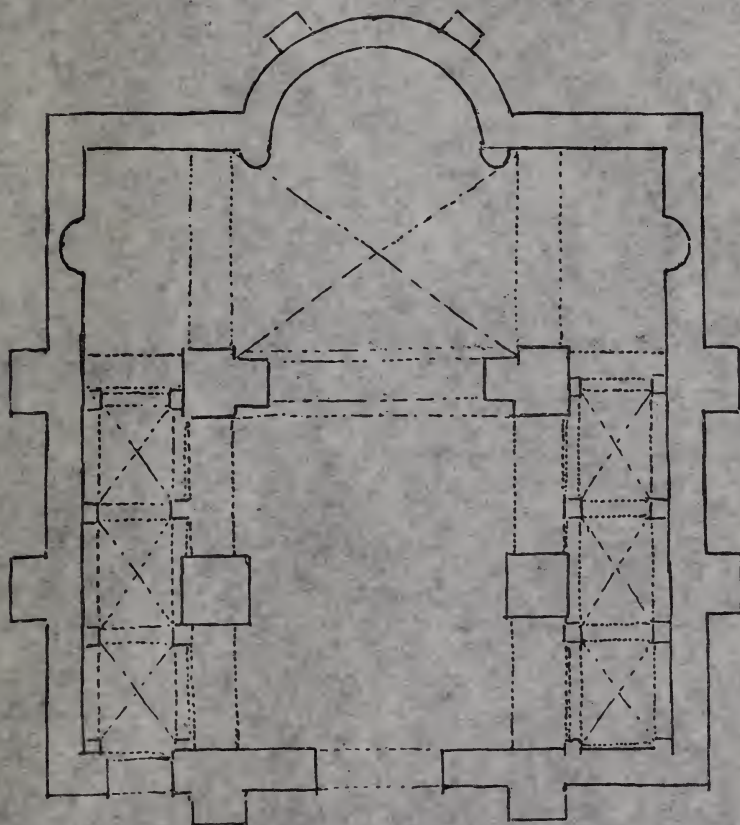
Three different methods of roof are represented in this church. The choir is covered by a *voute d'arêtes* and the adjacent aisles by barrel vaults. The weakness of the *voute d'arêtes* as compared with a dome is again illustrated in this building, where the crown of the vault has fallen in. The nave is covered by a dome, supported on skilful brickwork pendentives that may be described as a series of fans fitting into one another. The illustration will explain better than a verbal description this

* In the eruption of 1912 the lava from Etna flowed down to within three-quarters of a mile of the church.

S. DOMENICO.

Castiglione.

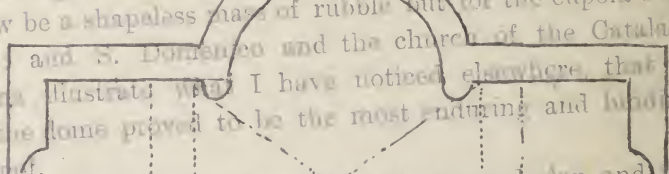
Below N.W. and W. sides; above S. side and prothesis niche.



Plan.

the Giuseppe Bardo Buggieri, situated about half a mile down the Mandorran road and close to the right bank of the Alcantara.

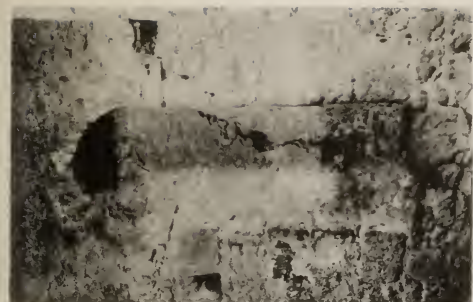
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Reference should here be made to the ground plan and the illustrations. The former shows that the church is completely oriented and consists of two parts, a choir with a semi-circular apse for the sanctuary at the west end and a nave with a narrow north and south aisle. The prothesis and diaconicon necessary adjuncts to a Byzantine church, required for the due performance of the Greek liturgy and usually placed in the east wall on either side of the apse, are represented here by two little niches placed in the thickness of the north and south aisle walls facing one another. The nave, separated from the choir by a lofty round arch, is a rectangular room divided into two bays and flanked by narrow aisles.

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ingenious device for building up a dome that also occurs in one of the churches at Salonica. The nave aisles also show that considerable care was bestowed on the edifice, for instead of the plain barrel vault that might have been expected, the roofs are made of little *voutes d'arêtes* supported on corbels. These deserve careful notice for the sake of the comparison they may afford with similar work elsewhere, and so be the means of fixing the date of this church.

The church was well lighted by a three-light window in the western façade and smaller windows in the aisles. The window in the central apse has two lights. There is a large door in the centre of the west front and a smaller one by it to correspond with the north aisle.

Beside the corbels and the fan pattern in the dome already referred to, we noticed the following decorative details. Near the niche for the *diaconicon* are the fragments of a wall painting. On either side of the main apse there were ornamental pillars made by leaving square blocks of lava projecting from the wall and then trimming them up to resemble pillars. The angles of the pilasters at the west side of the choir are recessed to take two other ornamental pillars to correspond with them.

Leaving the interior by the main door we have a view of the western façade. The only attempt at decorating seems to have been the undulation of the top instead of making a straight cornice. Buttresses are introduced to mark the nave, and aisles and similar buttresses occur on the north and south sides, and there are two to support the main apse.

The chief points of interest in this church are the absence of Norman or Arab features in the architecture and the arrangement of the sanctuary with the central apse and the ritual niches in trefoil. In both respects this church is unique in Sicily, and it is the only building to which the term Byzantine in the strict sense of the word can be properly applied. At the conclusion of these notes on S. Domenico we have described and illustrated the church at Agro for the sake of comparison, and the difference between the two styles, the pure Byzantine and the hybrid Norman-Arab imitation, is at once apparent.

In trying to assign a date to S. Domenico we are confronted with the difficulty that there are no inscriptions, ornaments,

or crosses to assist us. Up to the time of the Norman conquest there was little variety in Byzantine methods when applied to so small a building. So far as the architecture goes it might be as early as the church at Salonica* or as late as the churches at Rossano or Stilo. But immediately after the Norman conquest the new composite style, familiar to us in the Palermitan churches and seen at Agro, became so popular in Sicily that it seems to have been adopted to the exclusion of every other style, even where as in the Trinita di Delia and at Agro the churches were built for the benefit of Greek monks. S. Domenico would therefore be a notable exception to a general rule.

It is likely that documentary evidence relating to this little church exists in the early Norman archives. Dimarzo's edition of Amico's topographical dictionary in the articles on Castiglione and Francavilla refers to a Basilian monk named Chremes. It appears that this Chremes petitioned Roger, the Great Count, for leave to found the Monastery afterwards known as S. Salvatore della Placa.† The petition was granted, and the newly established house was endowed under the Norman law with the fief of the locality whence it took its name. The establishment to which Chremes belonged was then described as ancient, and there was a tradition that a 'protopapas' had ruled the neighbourhood so far back as the time of the Emperor Leo III the Isaurian in the beginning of the eighth century. The local historian quoted by Dimarzo dismisses this tradition as a fable and also the legend that Francavilla was founded by Franks in the time of Charlemagne. He might have added that Francavilla was a Roman and probably a prehistoric settlement, and that Christianity had existed there from the earliest times of our era. The important fact noted by Dimarzo, however, is that under the Norman charter the newly founded monastery received much territory in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and if S. Domenico existed at that date it is almost sure to be mentioned in the parcels of the charter or grant of land. The inquiry into the Norman archives and the grant to Chremes seems to be well worth following up.‡

* S. Elias.

† See Appendix, p. 171.

‡ The authorities quoted by Dimarzo in his editorial note on Francavilla are: Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, Not. 20, lib. 4. SS. Salvatoris di Placa, Villabianca, *Sic. Nob.*

*S. DOMENICO.
CASTIGLIONE.*

INTERIOR

*looking N.W. from chancel to nave :
showing vaulting of dome over nave.*

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* S. Ellis.

† See Appendix, p. 171.

‡ The author is quoted by Dimarzio in his editorial note on Francavilla in *Forma Sicilia Antica*, Nov. 20, 1851. S. Salvatore di Piana, Villabianca, Sic. 1851.



On the other hand, there are practical difficulties in the way of assigning a pre-Norman date to this church. The Norman conquest, for instance, succeeded an Arab occupation of Sicily that had lasted for over two centuries, and though the Christians were allowed during that time to retain and repair the existing churches, they were not allowed to build new ones. In Palermo, at any rate, the Arabs, like their co-religionists the Turks, seized the churches and converted them into mosques. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that with the exception of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti at Palermo, there is not a single church now extant in Sicily that has been changed, first from church to mosque and back again from mosque to church. It is, of course, possible that this fate befell S. Domenico, but I could find no trace of it in the building itself. And as a general rule the Normans made a clean sweep of the old buildings, as they did in England, and started afresh with new ones.

Judging by the fabric alone it would, however, not be impossible for S. Domenico to have been built either before the Arabs came to Sicily at all or at some time in the early part of their occupation, and before they conquered all the island. From their first landing at Mazzara, in 827, to the fall of Rometta, it took them 150 years to conquer Sicily, and even then the Christians remained in a majority in the Eastern provinces.

The only other detail to guide us in assigning a date is the substitution of niches for apses. The arrangement in trefoil is of no help, for so far as we know it is not found in a Byzantine building anywhere else. The only Sicilian examples of the use of niches placed on each side of the main apse are at Palermo in the chapels of the Mare Dolce or Favara Castle, built during the Norman siege, and the Zisa. The little chapel at Constantinople dedicated to S. Thecla, dating from the reign of the Emperor Isaac Komnenos (1057-59), also has niches.

On the whole I am inclined to think that this church is not earlier than the Norman conquest; that it was built by immigrants from the Levant during the revival that ensued,*

tom. 2, p. 267 et seq. MS. che conservasi nella Bibl. Com. di Palermo, Q q. R. 64; and on the grant of the fee, De Ciocchis *Sacro Regiæ Visitationis decreta* tom. 2, p. 454 et seq. Also *Notizie di Francavilla* by Cav. Vincenzo Cordara.

* Vol. i. p. 83. The new Norman law regulating the tenure of land gave the monastic houses a new lease of life and much prosperity.

and that it was probably the church of a Basilian monastery. But this opinion cannot be considered as final till the site has been carefully explored.

The arrangement of the apse and niches in trefoil is interesting for another reason. It has been suggested that the neighbouring cella trichora at Malvagna was built with three apses arranged in this way to suit the requirements of the Greek liturgy. We have never come across such an arrangement in a Byzantine church built in Sicily or Calabria for the elaborated Greek liturgy. But it does exist in the much earlier churches at Sohag and Bethlehem. The arrangement at S. Domenico shows that this plan was actually used in Sicily, and the suggestion with regard to the chapel at Malvagna is quite likely to be well founded. But the cella trichora was not an invention to suit the requirements of the elaborated Byzantine liturgy, as the Roman baths at Thelepta and Lambessa the churches at Sohag and the very early Christian chapels in Tunis clearly prove.

AGRO

This favourite carriage excursion from Taormina involves driving two miles up the bed of a mountain torrent, and is only feasible in dry weather. Before starting the traveller should ascertain that the river-bed is dry and practicable for a carriage or he may make the long drive to Sta Theresa la Riva in vain. And even if the traveller is unfortunate enough to find the river in full spate he will witness a sight well worth seeing. The river-bed or moraine, for that is really what it looks like, is in places nearly a mile wide, and after the torrential rains that come in autumn the water shoots down from the hills above with incredible violence, carrying all before it, undermining or sweeping away the roads and railway bridges, flooding the orange and lemon groves with large deposits of shingle, and doing an immense amount of damage in a very few minutes. Apart from the archaeological interest in the church and the beauty of the surrounding scenery, the excursion is well worth making for the sake of seeing a large Sicilian mountain torrent or *fumara* at close quarters.

S. Peter and S. Paul

Dimarzo says that the church of the Crocifisso in Forzia d' Agro was turned into a barrack and occupied by British troops during the campaign against Napoleon when Murat tried to invade Sicily in September, 1810. The French then held Scylla and Reggio in Calabria, and on that occasion a detachment of Neapolitan Infantry and some Corsicans, in all about 3,500 men under the command of General Cavaignac, came across the Straits and landed at Mili, near Giampileri. The English regiments engaged were the 2nd Light Infantry, the 21st Regiment, the 3rd and 4th King's German Legion, and the 20th Light Dragoons. The upshot of this raid, described in the language of the day as a 'singular incursion,' resulted in the surrender of 800 Frenchmen with 50 officers and a stand of colours as against three wounded on our side. An account of this is given in the Appendix to the diary* of my great uncle Captain William Hanson, of the 20th Light Dragoons. Captain Hanson was then on the way from England to join his regiment at Terranuova, near Messina, and he has left an interesting account of his journey from Messina to Syracuse along the coast road. His experiences in Sicily seem to have been much the same as my wife's and mine were exactly a century later. The Sicilian country inns were terribly dirty and bad, the fowls for dinner were half starved, just killed, badly boiled, and very tough, and he and his brother officer 'went to bed with not a few mosquitoes and bugs for companions.' Of Nicolosi at the foot of Etna he says, 'Here there is no inn, and we therefore went to the house of a man thought in this country a gentleman, who, provided they pay him exorbitantly, is ready to allow Englishmen shade and house room, for little else was to be had: his name is Giamellaro; and this same man contracted for a certain sum (of part of which I am a subscriber) to build a house this last summer for the accommodation of travellers on Etna.'† On the way from Augusta to Syracuse he passed by the Torre di Marcello near Priolo, describ-

* *Short Journal of a Voyage to Sicily, 1810-1811*, by Captain William Hanson, of the 20th Light Dragoons. London: J. Darling, 1814.

† This, I think, must be the Casa Inglese, and he refers to it again when he ascended Etna.

ing it as a large pyramid of stone marking the place where the Syracusans defeated the Athenians.

The little church dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul stands on a bluff or spur of the mountain-side jutting out into the bed of the fiumara, and seen at a distance it looks like a small fort with battlements round the roof. The plan shows that it is a rectangular structure very narrow in proportion to the length and height. It is divided into two parts, a nave with lateral aisles and a chancel with three apses. Of these apses the main or central apse is square on the plan and the prothesis and diaconicon are semicircular. In front of these apses there are three rectangular compartments representing the chancel in the centre and the lateral aisles on each side of it. The nave is divided into three bays of equal size and separated from the lateral aisles by four pillars, two on each side. At the west end there is an open narthex outside the main door, and this is flanked by staircases built in the prolongation of the aisles.

The arrangement for roofing the different parts of the church is very peculiar. Commencing at the east end we found that though the central apse is square on the ground-plan it takes a semicircular shape about two metres from the ground on the inside, the break from square to half-circle being negotiated by little squinches in the angles. The semicircular shape is then carried up to the top of the apse and is covered by a semi-dome built up on little squinches or semi-domes arranged clusterwise after the Arab manner. The apses of the prothesis and diaconicon are semicircular within and without and covered by plain semi-domes. The rectangular spaces in front of the prothesis and diaconicon are covered by cross vaults, and the chancel between them is carried up square to the roof and then covered by a little oval dome supported on the same cluster squinches of Arab origin. The central bay of the nave is also covered by a rather larger dome supported on squinches of the usual and simple shape, while the two other bays east and west of it are covered by timber and tile roofs. The aisles of the nave have cross vaults.

All the interior of the church is smeared over with white-wash excepting the four monolith pillars of grey granite and their stone caps. The latter are carved to represent bunches of acan-

*AGRO.**Abbey Church, S. Peter and S. Paul.**INTERIOR*

*showing honey comb vaulting in the apse: and
squinces supporting the central dome.
The porch with Greek inscription above.*

ing it as a large pyramid of stone marking the place where the Syrians and advanced the Armenians.

The main church dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul stands on a hill or spur of the mountain-side jutting out into the bay of the Buzzeva, and seen at a distance it looks like a small town with bastlements round the roof. The plan shows that it is a very rectangular structure very narrow in proportion to the length and height. It is divided into two parts, a nave with lateral aisles and a chancel with three apses. Of these apses the main or central apse is square on the plan and the prothesis and diaconicon are semicircular. In front of these apses there are three rectangular compartments representing the chancel in the centre and the lateral aisles on each side of it. The nave is divided into three bays of equal size and separated from the lateral aisles by four pillars, two on each side. At the west end there is an open narthex outside the main door, and this is flanked by staircases built in the prolongation of the aisles.

The arrangement for roofing the different parts of the church is very peculiar. Commencing at the east and we found that though the central apse is square on the plan it takes a semicircular shape above, and vaulting in the apse, and inside, the break from square to vault is supported by a little squinches in the apse. The forepart of the chancel is carried up to the top of the apse and is covered by a semi-dome built up on little squinches or semi-domes arranged clusterwise after the Arab manner. The apses of the prothesis and diaconicon are semicircular within and without and covered by plain semi-domes. The rectangular spaces in front of the prothesis and diaconicon are covered by cross vaults, and the chancel between them is carried up square to the roof and then covered by a little oval dome supported on the same cluster squinches of Arab origin. The central bay of the nave is also covered by a rather larger dome supported on squinches of the usual and simple kind, while the two other bays east and west of it are covered by timber and tile roofs. The aisles of the nave have cross vaults.

All the masonry of the church is smeared over with white-wash excepting the four monolithic pillars of grey granite and their stone caps. The latter are carved to represent bunches of acan-



thus leaves of the usual and conventional Norman pattern. The arches they support are all pointed, and so are the windows in the clerestory and the aisles.

Passing now into the porch and looking back into the church through the main door we get a distant view of the timber roof of the third bay and the squinches supporting the dome over the middle bay of the nave. The door itself has a pointed arch, and in the tympanum is a cross in a circle with circular ornaments in the quarters made of coloured stones. The Greek inscription on the lintel is hopelessly abbreviated, but sufficiently clear to be legible in the larger photograph. The text seems to be as follows: *

(First line) ἀνεκ(αι)νίσ(θη) ὁ να(ὸς) οὗτ(ος) τῶ(ν) ἀγί(ων)
 ἀπ(ο)στόλων Πέ(τρου) κ(αί) Παύλου π(αρά) θε(ο)στη
 (Second line) ρικτ(οῦ) κ(α)θαγουμ(ενου) τοῦ ταυρομενίτου ἀπὸ οἰκεί
 (Third line) ων ἀναλωμάτων μνησθείη αὐτ(οῦ) κ(ύριο)ς ἔτει ςχπ
 (Soffit) ο πρωτομαιοτορ Γιραρδος ο φραγκος

Rendered into English this inscription is as follows :

‘ Was renewed this temple of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul
 by Theoste-
 riktes Abbot the Tauromenian at his own
 expense may remember him the Lord in the 6680 AM. (1172, A.D.).
 The master builder Girard the Frank ’

The combination of brick and stone and the general appearance and colour of the outside of the church are very pleasing. The view of the east end shows that the central apse is carried square up to the top of the church while the prothesis and diaconicon are semicircular. Notice the bands of bricks arranged in the herring-bone pattern and the method of finishing off the flat buttresses by interlaced arching. This is the style adopted in decorating the apses of the cathedrals at Cefalu, Monreale, and Palermo, but here this decoration is carried right round the church. The view of the west end shows more pieces of herring-bone pattern, and the peculiar porch or narthex in the façade.

* I am indebted to confrère Mr. Cyril Davenport, the Assistant Librarian of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, for obtaining the transcript of this inscription. Salinas, *Notizie degli Scavi*, January, 1885, pp. 87, 88.

The view of the south side shows a door, now blocked up, that corresponds to the central bay of the nave.

It needs but a glance at this building to see that there is nothing Byzantine about it except the arrangement of three apses, the Greek inscription over the west door, and the ornamental device known as the herring-bone pattern. The squinch and pendentive arrangements are copied from Arab buildings, and for the rest the church is purely Norman in plan and architectural details.

Another building of the same date and much the same style but rather larger, known as the Badiazza, at Messina is now partly embedded in a *fiumara* in the mountains behind the city; it was severely shaken and considerably injured in the earthquake of 1908, when a part of the roof fell in. The capitals of the pillars deserve notice, and like the rest of the building they are purely Norman. The only Byzantine feature about this edifice is the triple apse, and like the church at Agro it was built for Basilian monks.

MESSINA

In the church of the Catalani at Messina we have another example of a building riven and split from top to bottom in an earthquake but kept together by the dome. The accompanying illustration is from a photograph taken after the debris of the surrounding houses had been cleared away. The church is of late date, and was built after the Norman Conquest. I have already referred to it in the Introduction.

CASTELVETRANO

Trinita di Delia

In the preceding volume I have given two illustrations of the outside of this little chapel showing the west front and the triple apse at the east end. On the wall of the central apse outside, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the ground, I noticed a few Greek characters cut in the stones, but can make no sense of them. The interior of the church and also of the low crypt below have been thoroughly renovated: the crypt is a little cruciform chamber

with a cross vault for the intersection and barrel vaults for the transepts. In the church itself two of the large pillars are made of red granite, and the little recessed pillars are made of white marble, and are quite modern. Only one of the capitals of the large pillars seems to be old and it is certainly Roman; the others are probably Norman imitations.

ALTAVILLA

The ruins of the Norman church said to have been founded by Guiscard and Roger for Basilian monks, stand on a bluff overlooking the Palermo-Messina railway about two kilometres east of Altavilla station towards Termini. The church was made of blocks of stone, and presents even in its ruined state a very substantial appearance. The ground plan shows that it was a cruciform building with one large semicircular apse at the east end of the chancel and semicircular apses on each side of it built in the east walls of the transepts.* There was a crypt underneath the chancel, and numerous fragments of carved stone that have been stowed away there show that the church was Norman. A peculiar square recess in the wall between the chancel and the apse on the south side deserves notice.

SYRACUSE

The Cathedral

There is a tradition that the Doric temple at Syracuse now used as the cathedral was first converted into a Christian church by Bishop Zosimus, who occupied the See shortly before the Emperor Constans II. came to take up his abode in Sicily, in the middle of the seventh century. This tradition rests on no very sure foundation, and judging by the dedication to the Blessed Virgin under the style of Maria Theotokos, the conversion might well have been two centuries earlier.

In 1911 permission was obtained to remove the plaster and to make a thorough examination of the cathedral from floor to roof, and in January, 1913 and 1914, the work of cleaning the interior was in active progress.

* See the plans of the churches at Poitiers and Fontevault.

It will be seen from the sketch-plan that the nave and choir occupy the room of the cella of the temple, and that the aisles were made by filling in the spaces between the great pillars with masonry, and so making an outside wall. The walls of the cella were then pierced with eight arched openings, and carried up to provide a clerestory room to light the nave. The roofing was effected by barrel vaults in the aisles, and by timber and tiles for the body of the church. The west end was walled up in the same way as the north and south sides, and probably had a narthex, but the exact arrangement is uncertain, because an elaborate west façade with a porch was built up in front of it during the baroque restoration. The major part of the east end also suffered the same fate at that time, when a large square chapel was fitted up to the end of the choir, and a smaller chapel was built out at the south-east corner; but as a semicircular apse covered by a semi-dome was discovered at the east end of the north aisle in the place of the chapel of the prothesis, it seems probable that the church had three apses, that the south aisle had a similar apse to correspond, and that the present choir terminated in a larger apse of the same shape.

It will be noticed that this semicircular apse in the north aisle is built up between the pillar that stood at the north-east corner and the second pillar of the east front of the temple, and if the contour line be prolonged, it will be seen that the temple ended about midway down the present choir. The footings of the eastern extremity of the cella were found under the steps of the bishop's throne, so that the present nave corresponds roughly with the cella.

We noticed the following peculiarities: there are five clerestory windows on each side of the nave; four are grouped together in the western half of the nave, and the fifth, which is rather larger than the others, occupies a place by itself over the second pilaster from the choir. The photograph of the window on the south side shows a large arch above it spanning two bays. As this arch has no connexion with the present roof, it seems probable that it supported an earlier and lower one either of the kind found in S. Spirito at Palermo, or a cross vault or a dome. The same picture shows a portion of the timber roof supported on wooden corbel figures. The latter are unmistakably Norman.

This roof runs uniformly the whole length of the church from the west end to the eastern extremity of the choir; it has been repaired and restored at various times, and the portion over the choir is now concealed by a ceiling of plaster.

The small picture of the window in the masonry between the Doric pillars is taken in the north aisle. These windows are made of finely dressed stone, have rounded heads and, as the section shows, are made on the bevel in the Norman way. The rim or flange on the outer side was no doubt intended to take an open-work stone lattice or screen.

There seems no reason to doubt that prior to baroque restoration the cathedral had the three apses incidental to a church intended for the Greek liturgy. As the Normans usually adopted this form of building the sanctuaries for the churches they restored or built in Sicily after the conquest, this triple-apse arrangement might certainly be as late as the eleventh century, when, as the roof and other parts of the fabric now show, the cathedral must have been extensively restored.

One would like to know whether this restoration was the result of the great earthquakes that occurred shortly after the conquest in 1140 and 1169, and whether the displacement of the Greek pillars in the north aisle was also the result of them or of an earlier earthquake that took place in the sixth century. The difficult question, however, in regard to these apses is rather not how new but how old they are likely to be. Were the building in Constantinople or the Levant instead of in Sicily, we should expect to find the triple apse as a matter of course. But the Greek element in the Sicilian Church did not begin even to predominate till the Emperor Constans came to Syracuse, two years after the bishop's death,* and fifty years more were to elapse before it passed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome to that of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Latin liturgy gradually gave place to the Greek.

The evidence from the works now in progress seems to show that the fabric inserted between the pillars of the temple is in the present form Norman, and that the early Christian work on the cathedral fared at the hands of the conquerors as that of every other ancient church in Sicily did.

* Zosimus in 661.

S. Marcian's Chapel

Two very different opinions are given as to the age of the marble capitals in S. Marcian's crypt. According to Barreca and many archæologists they are early Christian, while other and more recent authorities attribute them to the Normans. In point of fact the capitals consist really of two parts, a little Ionic capital below and a rectangular abacus above; this combination was much favoured by the early Christians and Byzantines, and continued in use for a long period. We are inclined to think that the truth lies somewhere between the two opinions; that the capitals are ancient, that is, either Roman or early Christian, and that the abaci are very much later.

We found four out of five of these little capitals used with the abaci above to decorate the angles of the square hall of the crypt; the fifth has been turned upside down and placed on a square block of stone near the altar, and is now described as S. Marcian's throne. We think there is little doubt that these capitals are early Christian, that they originally stood on granite shafts and belonged to an older church that was destroyed either by the Saracens or by earthquakes in the twelfth century. In the restoration made in Norman times, four out of the five were appropriated to serve their present purpose, and the granite pillars were used as old materials to make up the walls.

The abaci deserve more particular notice, and it will be convenient to take them in the following order, premising that they stand about nine feet from the ground, and that as they are embedded in the angles of the crypt nave only two sides of them are visible.

The Lion is at the angle marked (a) on the plan; quite close to it are pieces of a granite pillar that originally supported this capital. We found that the diameter of this pillar and of the capital now called S. Marcian's throne corresponded exactly. The inscription on the sinister side is from S. Mark's Gospel, c. i. v. 5, as follows:

✠ SECVNDVM MARCVM. ET EGREDIEBATVR AD
EVM OMNIS IVDEAE REGIO ET IEROSOLVMITE (sic)
VNIVERSI ET BAPTIZABANTVR AB EO IN IORDANIS
FLVMINE CONFITENTES PECCATA SVA.

CAPITALS.

In the Crypt of S. Marcian's Chapel at Syracuse.

EMBLEMS

of S. Luke and S. John.

S. Marcan's Chapel

Two very different opinions are given as to the age of the composite capitals in S. Marcan's crypt. According to Barreca and many archaeologists they are early Christian, while other and more recent authorities attribute them to the Normans. In point of fact the capitals consist really of two parts, a little Ionic capital below and a rectangular abacus above; this combination was much favoured by the early Christians and Byzantines, and continued in use for a long period. We are inclined to think that the truth lies somewhere between the two opinions; that the capitals are ancient, that is, either Roman or early Christian, and that the abaci are very much later.

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FLVMINE CONFITENTES PECCATA SVA.



The side of the abacus is decorated with double cornucopia, a pine cone, vine, and two conventional peacocks pecking at bunches of grapes; the side of the capital is seen underneath, and a little below it on the right-hand side is the granite shaft already referred to.

The Angel faces the lion on the opposite side of the crypt at (b); on the dexter side is the following inscription from S. Matthew's Gospel, c. iii. v. 1.:

SECVNDVM MATTHAEVM · VENIT IOHANNIS BAPTISTA PREDICNAS (sic) (praedicans) IN DESERTO IVDE (sic) (judaeae) DICENS PENITENTIA (sic) AGITE ADPROPINQVAVIT REGNVM CELOROM.

The side of this abacus is similar in general design to that of the lion on the other side, but doves take the place of peacocks and face outwards; the double cornucopia also figures again.

The Bull is at (c). On the dexter side is the following inscription from S. Luke's Gospel, c. i. v. 26:

MISSVS EST ANGELVS GABRIHEL A DEO IN CIVITATE (sic) GALILEAE CVI NOMEN NAZARET AD VIRGINE (sic) DESPONSATA (sic) VIRO CVI NOMEN ERAT IOSEPH DE DOMO DAVID ET NOMEN VIR (GINIS).

The side of this abacus resembles the last but is more roughly executed.

The Eagle is at (d). On the sinister side is the following inscription from S. John's Gospel, c. i.

✠ SECVNDVM IOHANNEM. IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBVM ET VERBVM ERAT APVT (sic) DM ET DS ERAT VERBVM HOC ERAT IN PRINCIPIO APVT (sic) DM OMNIA PER IPSVM FACTA SVNT ET SINE IP SO FACTVM EST NIHIL. QVOD FACTVM EST IN IP SO VITA EST.

This inscription is noteworthy, first for the variety of characters used, for example, three different forms of A occur; and secondly,

for the insertion of a little leaf-shaped rubric where a vacant space occurs in the lettering.

We consider Barreca's opinion as to the age of the capitals proper to be right. We should feel disposed to agree with him as to the age of the abaci also if the question depended only upon the use of Latin in the inscriptions, for Latin, and Latin only, was used by the Christians from first to last in North Africa. We hold that from the middle of the fifth to the end of the seventh century there was considerable and continuous intercourse between Syracuse and the Latin church of Africa, and more especially after the Christian communities in Africa were finally broken up by the Arab conquest of Carthage; it was mainly in South-eastern Sicily that many then sought refuge. We find some indirect confirmation of our view from the fact that things Latin were favoured in Sicily for longer than might have been expected; so for instance at an early date the Sicilian bishops protested against Greek innovations introduced by the Pontiff Gregory the Great, and again at a later date the Emperor Leo III. thought it necessary to forbid all communication between the bishops in Sicily and the Roman Curia.

But we find two difficulties in accepting Barreca's view as to these abaci. The first, it is true, depends upon the date of two Evangelist emblems, the Eagle and the Lion, preserved over the main door in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome. These are generally supposed to belong to the twelfth-century restoration of that church. The position they now occupy, however, may not be the original one, and it is not one we should expect to find them in; we are therefore prepared to hear from further research that in company with many other fragments discarded in the twelfth century, they belong to the restoration undertaken in the Pontificate of Hadrian I. (772-795). At any rate they are facsimiles of the examples in S. Marcan's chapel and both belong to the same date.

The second and more serious difficulty arises in the style of characters or lettering of the inscriptions. It is quite true that the little leaf-shaped rubric seen in the eagle inscription is frequently found in early Christian inscriptions in Africa and in Rome. But, that apart, we know of no characters in the Christian inscriptions in North Africa, ranging from the beginning of the

CAPITALS.

In the Crypt of S. Marcian's Chapel at Syracuse.

EMBLEMS

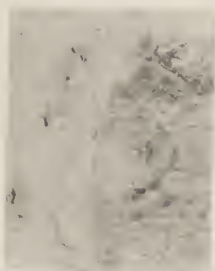
of S. Matthew and S. Mark; and an early wall painting.

for the insertion of a little leaf-shaped rubric where a vacant space occurs in the lettering.

We consider Barroca's opinion as to the age of the capitals proper to be right. We should feel disposed to agree with him as to the use of the abaci also if the question depended only upon the use of Latin in the inscriptions, for Latin, and Latin only, was used by the Christians from first to last in North Africa. We hold that from the middle of the fifth to the end of the seventh century there was considerable and continuous intercourse between Syracuse and the Latin church of Africa, and more especially after the Christian communities in Africa were finally broken up by the Arab conquest of Carthage; it was mainly in South-eastern Sicily that many then sought refuge. We find some indirect confirmation of our view from the fact that things Latin were favoured in Sicily for longer than might have been expected; so for instance at an early date the Sicilian bishops protested against Greek innovations introduced by the Pontiff Gregory the Great, and again at a later date the Emperor Leo III. thought it necessary to forbid all communication between the bishops in Sicily and the Roman Church. *In the Crypt of S. Marcin's Chapel at Syracuse, Sicily*

But we find two difficulties in the way of our view as to the age of the capitals. One is the existence of two Evangelist enblems, the Eagle and the Lion, preserved over the main door in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome. These are generally supposed to belong to the twelfth-century restoration of that church. The position they now occupy, however, may not be the original one, and it is not one we should expect to find them in; we are therefore prepared to hear from further research that in company with many other fragments discarded in the twelfth century, they belong to the restoration undertaken in the Pontificate of Hadrian I. (772-795). At any rate they are facsimiles of the examples in S. Marcin's chapel and both belong to the same date.

The second and more serious difficulty arises in the style of characters or lettering of the inscriptions. It is quite true that the little leaf-shaped rubric seen in the eagle inscription is frequently found in early Christian inscriptions in Africa and in Rome. But, that apart, we know of no characters in the Christian inscriptions in North Africa ranging from the beginning of the



fourth century to the end of the seventh, or indeed elsewhere of that date, that bear any resemblance whatever to these in S. Marcian's chapel. The latter seem to us to be too well executed for the sixth century or the seventh, and they appear to resemble more closely the characters used from the tenth century on till the Norman conquest. But we think that the abaci are anterior to the Norman conquest, probably by at least half a century or perhaps even more.

From the texts themselves no evidence can be derived. The mistakes in spelling count of course for nothing, and the sequence of words follows the Vulgate.

The Basilica by S. Marcian's Chapel

The capitals in the crypt are not the only archæological puzzles in the precincts of S. Marcian's chapel. It has been usually supposed that two Doric pillars in the nave of the mediæval church of S. Lorenzo belonged to a pagan temple. The church of S. Lorenzo, like the modern French chapel at El Kef, occupies the narthex of a much older church that for convenience I will call the basilica. As the plan shows, the axes of the basilica and the church were consequently at right angles to one another, and the west front of the basilica decorated with very rough carvings now forms the west side of the church. It was eventually determined to excavate the site of the basilica, and the discoveries then made leave no room for doubt that these so-called temple pillars are in reality Norman imitations. This is clearly shown from the heads that decorated the corners of some of the 'Doric' capitals found in the debris, and from a tongue pattern on the base of the pillars. It was found, moreover, that the capitals were made not in round drums, but in segments of circles. The site has not been fully explored, but in the meantime the apse has been uncovered and the arrangement of the dais or floor show that there was an earlier church. There may be some difficulty in fixing the date of this earlier church as well as the Norman restoration on account of two great earthquakes in 1140 and 1169; but it seems likely that the Norman church was destroyed in one of them, and that the site was then abandoned for some years till the later church of S. Lorenzo was

built up in the narthex. The south front and the graceful cloister porch of S. Lorenzo are familiar objects to every traveller who visits the catacombs, and too well-known to need description here. The archaic figures over the old west door of the Norman basilica deserve notice, and should be compared with similar figures on the early church at Aregno in Corsica.

SOUTH ITALY

S. Giuseppe at Gaeta

S. Costanzo at Capri

S. Maria delle cinque torri at Monte Cassino

I HAVE mentioned these three churches in the notes on the Cattolica at Stilo and S. Mark at Rossano in Calabria, because in a sense they are all built on the same plan, and the architects of the first two obviously intended to secure a cruciform effect inside with a dome for the centre of the cross. But the absence of the triple apse* distinguishes them from the Sicilian churches of the Norman period like the Cappella Palatina and the Martorana, and shows that they were not built to suit the requirements of the Greek liturgy. The term Byzantine is commonly applied to all of them, but with the exception of the two Calabrian churches and Castiglione it is altogether misleading, as well from the architectural as from the liturgical point of view.

GAETA

S. Giuseppe

or

S. Giovanni al Mare

The history of mediæval Gaeta is well known from the early charters and records published at Monte Cassino.† Constantine

* Schulz shows three apses at S. Maria, but I think he is wrong.

† *Codex Diplomaticus Caetanus in Tabularium Cassinense*. Monte Cassino, 2 vols., 1889-91. For the general history, *Memorie Storiche della Città di Gaeta*, by Gaetani d'Aragona, 1879; Chalandon, *Histoire des Normands*, vol. i. p. 4.

Porphyrogennetos reckons it among the cities dependent on the theme of Sicily,* and like Naples, Amalfi, and the seaport towns in Sardinia, it belonged in theory to the Emperor at Constantinople; but in practice the city was left in a great measure to manage its own commercial affairs and develop local self-government under a magistrate called hypatos, or consul, who occasionally bore an imperial title, and whose office eventually became hereditary.† When the relations with the Empire were more than usually close the magistrate adopted the years from the Emperor's accession for dating his official acts.

Duke John, the supposed founder of this church, was the successor of a certain Count Anatolius, sent to Gaeta as 'consul' by the Pontiff Gregory II. at a moment when the city had rebelled against an unusually heavy burden of Imperial taxes. The precise character of Anatolius' mission seems to be uncertain; possibly Gregory II. did not intend to do more than protect the large estates of the Church in the neighbourhood, but this mission was the first step towards the Patrimony near by passing under the control of the Dukes of Gaeta, and so the origin and ground for the claim made by John XII. to temporal authority over the city in place of the Byzantine Emperor.

Count Anatolius came upon the scene in the reign of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, about ten years after a Council of the Church held at Rome had condemned Iconoclasm, and consequently at the beginning of the great change in the political and ecclesiastical relations between Rome and Constantinople that ensued. He was still 'consul' during the creation of the Pontifical dominion, when Gaeta though nominally dependent upon but virtually abandoned by the Byzantines, became hemmed in between the Lombard States and the newly created Roman territories. From these powerful neighbours the little commercial community maintained its freedom, sometimes with the help of Naples, at other times by an alliance with the Saracens, and occasionally by resuming the position of subject to the Emperor at Constantinople.

There is evidence that Naples and Gaeta had already joined together while Anatolius held office. In 757, the Pontiff Paul

* *Gaeta nella Storia*, Raimondo Vento, 1911.

† The same thing happened in the provinces of Sardinia. See vol i. p. 52.

wrote a letter to King Pepin, calling upon him to constrain the men of Naples and Gaeta to restore the Patrimonies of S. Peter situated at Naples, and to allow their bishops to come to Rome for consecration.* The two complaints made in this letter respecting the temporalities and the spiritual prerogative are the same that were made in regard to Sicily and Calabria when the Emperor Leo III. confiscated the Patrimony. At that time the revenues there were diverted into the Imperial exchequer, and the bishops were put under the Patriarch of Constantinople and forbidden to communicate with Rome.

The Patrimony in the vicinity of Gaeta remained in fact under the control of the Dukes of Gaeta for more than a century later and the retention was, as already said, one of the grounds for the claim made by the Pontiff John XII. to temporal authority over the city.† In practice these Patrimonies scattered about Italy, Sicily, Africa, and elsewhere, gave the Pontiff extensive power and influence as landlord, and the rectors who managed them took a leading part in the ecclesiastical administration of their respective districts.

We are not told what side the Gaetans took in the iconoclastic controversy. The authorities consider that in Italy the clergy and laity were as a rule opposed to iconoclasm, and that for political reasons the Emperor Leo and his successors did not press their religious views upon their Sicilian and Calabrian subjects. The local historians, writing from the Italian point of view, claim that the original secession of the citizens from the Empire arose from their opposition to the Iconoclasts.‡ Their allies, the Neapolitans, on the other hand, seem to have taken a different side in the controversy, for they refused to receive a bishop named Paul, a well-known enemy of the Iconoclasts, sent to them in 761 by the Pontiff Paul.§

It seems to me likely that the refusal of the Neapolitans and Gaetans to recognise the spiritual prerogative and allow their bishops to go to Rome for consecration arose more out of questions of language, nationality, and finance than of

* Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Gay, *L'Italie Meridionale et l'Empire Byzantin*, vol i. p. 292.

‡ Gaeta nella Storia, p. 13.

§ Chalandon, vol. i. p. 10.

faith or image-worship. In importance, at any rate, the Greek element certainly prevailed over the Latin in Naples and Gaeta at this time. For example, we know from a letter written by the Pontiff Hadrian to the Emperor Charlemagne about the Patrimonies in these parts, that the Viceroy of Sicily had come to reside at Gaeta in 778.* Later, in 812, the Gaetan ships were placed under the order of another Sicilian Viceroy, and helped the admiral of a Byzantine fleet.† Again, later, in 830, the acts of the city are dated by the years of the reign of the Emperor Theophilus.‡

During the ensuing century the principal event of importance to Gaeta as a dependency of the Byzantine Empire is the conquest of Sicily by the Saracens. By the capture of Palermo the Arabs obtained the command of the Tyrrhenian sea, and after the fall of Syracuse the Byzantine seat of government was moved first to Calabria and afterwards to Apulia. The Gaetans and their neighbours at Naples and Amalfi were then left to shift for themselves and hold their own as best they could.

At this time Southern Italy was divided up into the following territories. Calabria and the province of Otranto belonged in part to the Saracens but mainly to the Byzantines. Between these districts and the Roman State the Lombard principality of Beneventum occupied the eastern side of the Appennines; on the western side were the duchies of Salerno and Capua, and on the seashore the three Greek republics. After the fall of Palermo and the withdrawal of the Byzantine fleet, the coast of Italy from Civitavecchia to Messina was left exposed to the mercy of the Saracens. It is chiefly in connection with their exploits that we hear of Gaeta, and they became in turn besiegers, allies, and finally tributaries of the city. In 846 they were defeated in a battle near Ostia, and an unsuccessful siege of Gaeta, that lasted for two years, was raised by the assistance of a Neapolitan fleet. But it is beyond my purpose to trace the varying fortunes of these raids or of the feudal wars between the rival Lombard princes that made combined action against the Mahometans for a time impossible.

* *Hodgkin*, vol. viii. p. 63.

† *Gay*, vol. i. p. 22.

‡ *Chalandon*, vol. i. p. 8.

The next events of importance in the general history of the period that affected Gaeta were the reconquest of Bari by the Greeks and the accession of John VIII. to the Pontificate. Upon this great prince-bishop devolved the duty of championing the cause of Latin Christendom in South Italy, and during the ten years of his reign he laboured strenuously and unceasingly to reconcile the conflicting interests of his neighbours and bring about an alliance against the Mahometans. His efforts were only partly successful at the time, because of the hostility of the Lombards, and the three republics, who had recently come to terms with the Saracens, refused to join it. The upshot of these negotiations, so far as the Gaetans are concerned, seems to have been the cession of the territories of Fondi and Trajecta to the hypatos of Gaeta and the removal of the Saracens to the River Garigliano, where we find them first as vassals and later on as allies of the Gaetans in a battle against the Neapolitans and the Lombards. But by skilful diplomacy John VIII. induced the Byzantine Emperor to send the Imperial fleet back to the Tyrrhenian sea, and this important event marks a turning-point in local history.* It fell to the lot of a successor and namesake, John X., to accomplish the task, and the joint action of all the Christian States at the battle near the Garigliano drove the Saracens out of Western Italy altogether. The Gaetans were rewarded for their prominent share in this campaign by a confirmation of the grant of Fondi and Trajecta and the hypatos, Duke John III. received the title of Imperial Patrician from the Emperor.

The Christian alliance was, however, soon dissolved, and we next hear of Gaeta in connection with the doings of three leading characters in the history of the tenth century, the Pontiff John XII., and the German Emperors, Otto II., and his son, Otto III.

John XII. claimed the suzerainty over Gaeta in virtue of the cession of the territories of the Patrimony made to the city by his predecessors John VIII. and John X., in

* Gay, vol. i. pp. 123 and 124. The Byzantines had captured Bari in 876. This was a most important event in the history of Southern Italy, and more than compensated the Byzantines for the loss of Syracuse two years later. The Byzantines sent two naval expeditions to the Gaeta Naples coast in 879 and 880, and won a victory over the Arabs near Messina (id. p. 112).

the circumstances already narrated. As he was on friendly terms with the Byzantine Court we may, I suppose, infer that the Emperor had by then ceased to claim any authority over the city, and in point of fact the successor of the Duke John III. had dropped the title of Imperial Patrician, and the acts or charters were dated either according to the Pontifical reign or that of the Duke. The claim did not, however, avail to protect Gaeta from falling into the hands of the Lombards a few years later.

In the meantime Gaeta was visited first by the German Emperor Otto II., and shortly afterwards by his son, Otto III. The former came * with his wife, the Byzantine Princess Theophano, and was received by the Duke Marino. The latter † was received by the Duke John and his wife, the Duchess Emilia, and on that occasion the principality of Pontecorvo was added to the Duke's dominions.

And that brings me to S. Giuseppe, or more correctly S. Giovanni al Mare. The local historians attribute the foundation of the church to this Duke and his consort at the close of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, and I must be content to take their word for it, for I can find no mention of a church of S. Giuseppe in the *Codex Diplomaticus Caetanus*. The earliest reference to the parish of S. John 'al Mare' occurs in a deed of conveyance of some private land dated in 1277. At least three other churches dedicated to S. John are mentioned in the charters of the ninth and tenth centuries. A note by the editor of the Codex connects one of them with the Duchess Emilia, but it was apparently situated outside the town. Another was situated in the village of Formia, about five miles out on the road to Naples. And lastly, the recitals in a document relating to the third church of S. John, which was in the city, are insufficient to identify it with our church. The

* Probably 981, when the Emperor went to Naples (Gay, vol. ii. p. 332.) This Emperor was married in Rome on April 14, 972 (p. 319), and died in December, 983. He was then twenty-eight years old (p. 341). His son, Otto III., was not crowned till 996 at the age of thirteen (p. 371).

† In 999 Otto III. had been on pilgrimage to Mte. Gargano. It was on this occasion that he was received by the famous monk, S. Nil (Gay, vol. ii. pp. 372, 381).

plan, elevation, and general style are not inconsistent with the date assigned by the local historians, and that is all that can be safely said.

The church lies SE. and NW. between the sea and the foot of the rock crowned by the modern citadel: the sanctuary is consequently at the north-west end, and the main door faces the seashore. The ground-plan is that of a little basilica with a single apse, and as the ground slopes slightly from the door the floor is raised by steps placed at intervals up to the sanctuary. The accompanying sketch of the outside gives an idea of all that is visible from the street, the chancel and transepts being shut in by the adjoining houses. The view is taken from the south side, and shows the modern west front, the wall of the south aisle, and the wall of the nave above, with two clerestory windows now blocked up. The little circular tower with a round top contains the cupola or dome of the usual high pitch found in Byzantine and Norman buildings of late date. The bell-cot and the west front appear to be modern additions.

Passing now through the west door we get the general view of the interior shown in the next photograph. The church is divided into nave and aisles, separated by slender columns made of granite. To secure a cruciform effect the architect adopted the usual plan of varying the roof levels. Thus the nave and the central bays of both aisles are raised to the full height of the church and covered with a barrel-vault, while the other bays of the aisles are covered with cross vaults at a lower level. This break in the aisle vault produces the effect of transepts, and the intersection of the latter with the nave is covered with the little dome. The third picture is taken looking upwards, to show that the dome is supported on squinches in the angles of the square. This important architectural detail of Arab origin identifies S. Giuseppe with the churches in Palermo, and made me think that it was not built, at any rate in its present form, till after the Norman conquest, and much later than the date assigned to it. Upon this question the plan and architecture of the church and the decorative details now visible throw no light. The single apse points to the archi-

tect being a Lombard or an Italian, for the Greek architect would probably have built three apses, as his compatriots did in Sicily. But the two methods of building a sanctuary according to the service to be performed were used concurrently over a long period and are no help to fixing a date. The decorative details are now covered up by plaster and barroque work of the eighteenth century, but where a small piece has been removed two layers of wall paintings one above the other have been found underneath it: the amount at present uncovered is, however, too small to be of any practical assistance. Neither do the granite pillars and their capitals help, for they were obviously taken from a classical building. The capitals are made of stone, and much damaged, and appear to be late Roman work. One of them is used as a base for the last pillar on the north side.

The only other ancient object in the church is a carved stone slab used for an altar front in a chapel on the north side of the church. Schulz gives a drawing of it in his book but he does not mention it in connection with the church, and the numbering of the plates in his letterpress has been confused. It is a remarkable composition, and a comparison of the work on the cross and the two supporting griffins suggests that it is not all of the same date. The cross and the little ornaments are certainly designed by a Byzantine artist, and as they are similar to the work on carved screens in the churches of Sta. Sabina and Sta. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, probably belong to the eighth century.* An artist of the tenth century would hardly have produced two beasts so well executed. I believe they are Roman, and that the cross is a later substitution for some pagan device escutcheon or emblem to which the griffins acted as supporters. Nothing is known locally about this slab.

Schulz, to whose picture we have already referred, visited Gaeta, and gives a ground-plan and elevation but no historical information about this church. He points out, as the fact is, that the old cathedral at Capri and the churches of S. Andrew at Trani, and S. Nicholas and Cataldo at Lecce are like it. The

* S. Maria in Cosmedin was restored and redecorated in the Pontificate of Hadrian I., 772-795. See similar beasts as supporters on a sarcophagus in the Arles Museum.

Gaeta.

S. Giuseppe.

Capri.

S. Costanzo.

Plan of S. Costanzo.



not been a Lombard or an Italian, for the Greek architect would probably have built three apses, as his compatriots did in Sicily. But the two methods of building a sanctuary according to the service to be performed were used contemporaneously over a long period and are no help to fixing a date. The decorative details are now covered up by plaster and baroque work of the eighteenth century, but where a small piece has been removed two layers of wall paintings one above the other have been found underneath it: the amount at present uncovered is, however, too small to be of any practical assistance. Neither do the granite pillars and their capitals help, for they were obviously taken from a classical building. The capitals are made of stone, and much damaged, and appear to be late Roman work. One of them served as a base for the last pillar on the north side.

The principal object in the church is a carved stone altar or communion table on a platform on the north side of the church. Healy gives a drawing of it, but he does not mention it in connection with the church, and the numbering of the plates in his letterpress has been confused. It is a remarkable composition, and a comparison of the work on the cross and the two supporting griffins suggests that it is not all of the same date. The cross and the little ornaments are certainly designed by a Byzantine artist, and are very similar to the work on carved screens in the churches of Sta. Sabina and Sta. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, probably belong to the eighth century. An artist of the ninth century would hardly have executed two such griffins. It is, however, possible that the cross is a later substitution for some pagan device or emblem to which the griffins acted as supporters. Nothing is known locally about this slab.

Schulz, to whose picture we have already referred, visited Grotto, and gives a ground-plan and elevation but no historical information about this church. He points out, as the fact is, that the cathedral at Capri and the church of S. Andrew at Trani, and S. Nicholas and Catalano at Lecce are like it. The

* S. Maria in Cosmedin was restored and redecorated in the Pontificate of Adrian I., 752-575. See similar heads of supporters on a sarcophagus in the Arles Museum.



date of the last, built by Tancred Count of Lecce and afterwards King of Sicily, is known to be 1180. A conjecture that the church at Trani and this church at Gaeta were also built by Tancred, or under his auspices, presents itself temptingly, for these three cities, Lecce, Trani, and Gaeta were all in turn honoured by Tancred's special favour. So Lecce apparently remained part of Tancred's royal domain, the citizens of Trani received compensation for damage sustained during the war, and an important charter was granted to Gaeta, conferring privileges and remitting certain obligations to furnish men for the galleys.* But there is no evidence to support it, and though, *prima facie*, S. Giovanni appears to be a Norman building of the eleventh or twelfth century, there is nothing in the style of architecture inconsistent with the traditional foundation, or more likely restoration, of the church by the Duke John about the year 1000.

I may add in conclusion that the Duchess Emilia survived her husband and became regent to her grandson during his minority. An alliance between Gaeta and Naples made at this time against the Lombards brought about the downfall of the Ducal family, and the city passed first under the dominion of Pandolf, Prince of Capua, and shortly afterwards under that of the Normans. The Ducal title then passed to the Hauteville family, and my wife's kinsman, Geoffrey de Riddell, was appointed by Count Roger as the first Norman Governor, with the title of Consul, and ruled over Gaeta from September, 1072, to April, 1077.

CAPRI

S. Costanzo

This little church is situated on high ground at the north end of the Marina Grande in a district that is full of Roman remains. In an adjoining garden we were shown a beautiful shaft of Egyptian onyx about nine feet long, and two large blocks of uncut green serpentine that had just been unearthed. These and a number of other pieces of marble found in the same spot were perhaps the stock of a Roman marble mason.

The present edifice consists of two parts, the original church

* Chalandon, vol. ii. pp. 62, 148, and 449.

and the annexed buildings that were added in the twelfth century or later. In the accompanying plan the former is indicated by black and the latter by red lines. It will be seen from this plan that the axis of the original church is almost due north to south. It was a rectangular building consisting of a nave divided into nine compartments, a single apse for the sanctuary and altar at the north end, and a double narthex at the south end. In the reconstruction of the twelfth century the axis of the church was, so to speak, turned about, a large square hall to contain the altar was built out on the west side, a door was cut in the east wall to make the main entrance, and the original apse and the doors leading into the old narthex on the south side were walled up. The alterations then made subsist to the present time and the church is arranged, so far as the altar and sanctuary are concerned, as it was in the twelfth century.

The reader who has studied the plans of the Cattolica at Stilo, of S. Mark's church at Rossano, and S. Giovanni al Mare, otherwise S. Giuseppe at Gaeta, will be familiar with what may be called the nine-compartment division, and notice that the ground-plan and roof arrangement of S. Costanzo and of the last-named church are almost exactly the same. The obvious intention of the architects was to secure a cruciform effect within, and for this purpose the central compartment was covered by a cupola, the four-angle compartments were covered with *voutes d'arêtes* at a low level, and the remaining compartments with barrel vaults at a much higher one. As at Gaeta, so in this church, the cupola is a high pepper-pot dome supported on pendentives. All the roofing is supported on two square pilasters of masonry* and fourteen pillars of various coloured marbles, grey granite, green cippolino, and jallo antico from Numidia. Presumably no ancient capitals were available, and plain stone slabs were used instead.

From this short survey the student will obtain a general idea of the church. The original narthex at the south end is now used as a wine-cellar, and consists of two parallel chambers covered by

* Replacing two shafts of Numidian marble that were carried off by the Bourbons to decorate the Palace chapel at Caserta. All these pillars were obtained from a Roman building. The domes are of the same shape, but this one is suspended on pendentives while that at Gaeta is on squinches.

barrel vaults supported on two square pilasters. The south end seems to have been walled up to form a cistern, and three holes were cut in the vault to drain the water from the terrace above, and from the roof of the church. The entrance to the church was by three round-headed doors, corresponding to the nave and aisles and the space between the pilasters of the narthex. Light was obtained by three vents on the south side. Some additions have been made to this narthex, and the doors into the church have been blocked up, but otherwise it is substantially in its original condition.

Passing out into the little fore-court or piazza we enter the church by the door cut through the south wall in the twelfth century. This leads into a narthex of three bays, covered by cross vaults, that support the priests' apartments above. The *bénitier* near the door stands on the fragment of a cippollino pillar shaft, originally cut in baluster form. The companion of it will be seen in the nave. The division of the nave into nine compartments has already been explained, and with the aid of the plan the accompanying photographs will give an idea of the original church taken from two different points. The first of these is taken from the modern choir looking east. The second is taken from the door looking in the opposite direction, and the choir is seen in the distance, through the pillars of the original church. The choir beyond is a plain rectangular room covered by a ribbed cross vault, resting on four corbels of Norman character, two grotesques, a well-carved head, and an ornamental design that could not be distinguished.

The original apse of the earlier church has been cut in two to make a passage. We could find no indications of a screen or other altar furniture, but in the garden my wife found a post with a cross carved on it that belonged to a chancel screen. In the modern room adjoining the apse is the fragment of a marble console decorated with the acanthus leaf, and beneath it the remains of a mediæval tombstone of doubtful date.

A good view of the exterior of the church could not be obtained owing to the surrounding garden, but the rough sketch will suffice to show that the dome is almost exactly the same as that of S. Giovanni at Gaeta. The outline of the original church is difficult to distinguish owing to the additions of priests' rooms.

over the modern narthex, and the two angle compartments on the east side. The approach to these rooms is by a staircase at the end of the passage cut across the original apse.

In considering the date of the original part of the church we are again confronted with the usual difficulty that there is no contemporary documentary evidence, and the general history of Capri is so involved and confused that little help can be derived from it. The foundation of S. Giovanni at Gaeta is locally attributed to the Duke John in 999; but we found no reference in the *Codex Cassinensis* respecting it till the thirteenth century, and this important source of information is silent as to S. Costanzo at Capri. The two churches are, however, so much alike, save in one detail,* that it seems reasonable to suppose that in the main they were built about the same time. We hazard a conjecture that the present edifices are not the original ones; that the date of the foundation of the preceding churches, though not necessarily the first to occupy the site, is to be sought between the middle of the eighth century and the middle of the ninth; and we do so because of the altar front at Gaeta and the little screen post we found in the garden near S. Costanzo. We consider that these are of the eighth century, and that if it be the fact that the Duke John had any hand in building S. Giovanni it was as a restorer of an earlier church to which this altar belonged, and not as the original founder. We would venture to go farther and say that it seems likely that the originals of the three churches † were built under the auspices of the monastery of Monte Cassino. There is a tradition that Capri was given by the Byzantine Emperor to the monks of Monte Cassino. There is a sufficient resemblance in plan in these churches to justify the assumption that they were copied from one another upon a common plan that happened to be fashionable at the moment. The practical difficulty of assigning so early a date to the churches at Gaeta and Capri is that all these coasts were infested by the Saracens in the ninth and tenth centuries, but the complaint of the Latins against Naples, Gaeta, and the other maritime republics shows that the

* The dome at Gaeta is supported on squinches, and the dome at S. Costanzo on pendentives; but the two systems were used concurrently, and too much importance should not be attributed to the difference.

† S. Maria delle cinque torri is the third.

latter were able to hold their own, and either by treaty or by force to keep their territory free from the Mahometans.

The local historians of Capri supply us with four pieces of information respecting the early Church history of the island. As the first two relate to events in the sixth century that happened long before S. Costanzo was built they need no more than a passing reference. The third event arose out of the political history of Southern Italy. The fourth is in a measure connected with the third and relates to the creation of the bishopric of Capri of which S. Costanzo became the cathedral church. The third and fourth may therefore conveniently be taken together, though they were separated by nearly a century.

There is a tradition, and I will call it no more for the present though it is quite likely to be founded on fact, even if the persons said to have been principally concerned had no hand in the transaction, that the Emperor Louis II. took Capri away from the Duchy of Naples and gave it to the Amalfitans in consideration for services rendered by the latter in fighting the Saracens.*

* I quote the following from pp. 93-4 of Fabio Giordano's *Relation of Capri*, edited anonymously and printed at Naples in July, 1906: 'It is said that the Emperor Ludwig took Capri from the Neapolitans and gave it to Amalfi as a reward for services rendered in the Athanasius incident. I cannot trace the original authority for this donation. Modern writers copy the usual account of it from Mangoni; who quotes Pansa to this effect; who quotes, or says he quotes, from Marino Freccia. Even Freccia, with all his learning, would be no authority; besides, I have been able to discover no passage in his imposing *De Subfeudis* which speaks of such a donation. Both Camera (*Istoria di Amalfi*, p. 100) and Anastasio (*Lucubrationes in Surrentinorum*, etc., vol. i. p. 110) name Freccia in this connection, although he merely states that after the Roman period Capri became subject to Amalfi. Anastasio's learning on this subject is mostly derived from Chioccarelli; he goes so far as to copy that writer's wrong reference to the tenth volume of Baronius. Among other older writers, Chioccarelli (*Antisitem*, etc., p. 88) and Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.*, vol. 14 p. 264) both give accounts of the incident which is supposed to have led to this donation, but without mentioning Capri at all. The chroniclers I have consulted are equally silent. Leo Ostiensis (Peter Diaconus), Paul Diaconus, Giovanni Diaconus, Erchempertus, the *Chronicum Amalfitanum*, the *Chronicum Anonymi Salernitani*, the *Chronicum archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum*, most of whom touch upon this episode, do not speak of Capri as the supposed reward of the Amalfitans. Nor is there any mention of it in the documents concerning St. Athanasius published by Muratori, nor in Paolo Regio's life of that saint. At the same time, there is no doubt that, whatever its ecclesiastical status may have been, Capri was colonized during this long period from Amalfi, and not from Sorrento. Thus Edrisi, in an important passage, writes: "L'isola di Caprie abitata da uomini d'Amalfi che vi tengono loro greggi . . ." (*L'Italia descritta nel libro del Re Ruggiero*, M. Amari e E. Schiaparelli, Roma, 1883, p. 18). The existence of a large number of Amalfitan names of families and places on Capri testifies to this long domination.'

It is also said that in 987, that is a little more than a century later, the Archbishop of Amalfi was commissioned by the Pontiff John XV. to consecrate a certain John as the first Bishop of Capri. The date 987 corresponds closely with that usually given for the construction of S. Giovanni at Gaeta, and as S. Costanzo is almost exactly like the Gaeta church there seems to be good ground for thinking that they were erected as we now see them at the same time, S. Costanzo being built as the cathedral church for the newly created see.

The tradition respecting the grant of Capri to the Amalfitans must be relatively late, for the early authorities do not mention it. The student who is acquainted with the history of Southern Italy in the middle and close of the ninth century, and the relations between the Greek maritime republics or communities and the Saracens on the one hand, and the Franks, the Lombards, and the newly created Pontifical States on the other, will probably see no reason to doubt that such a grant was made for much the same reasons that Fondi and Trajecta were given to Gaeta by the Pontiff John VIII. And in that connection an inquiry into the financial relations between these Republics and John VIII. would be interesting. As the country round Rome was either completely wrecked or in the hands of the Saracens, one would like to know where John VIII. obtained the money to carry on the almost incessant campaigns with the Saracens he was engaged in during the eight years of his reign after the Emperor Louis II. was dead. Did these Republics find the funds and were these grants of territory the price paid for them?

The creation of a bishopric at Capri is usually attributed to the revival that took place in the Latin Church in Southern Italy towards the end of the tenth century. This revival was the answer of the Latins to propaganda of the Emperor Nicephoros Phocas for Hellenizing Calabria and Apulia through the medium of the Greek Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople.* To follow the sequence of events that led up to this movement in the Latin Church it will be necessary to refer back to the confiscation of the Patrimony of the Roman Church and the establishment of the Patriarchal jurisdiction in Italy and Sicily by the Emperor Leo III. in the beginning of the eighth century. Against the confiscation of the Patrimony protests were made from time to

* Gay, vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

time, for instance by Hadrian I. in the eighth century and by Nicholas I. in the ninth. Their successor, John VIII., maintained friendly relations with the Byzantine Court and the Greek Church under the Patriarch Photius, a policy that stood the Christians in South Italy in good stead, and was in contrast to that of his predecessors; but his letters show that he too did not forget to assert the claims of the Roman Church to spiritual allegiance or reprove the Princes of Sardinia, then nominally at any rate dependents of the Emperor at Constantinople, for failing in obedience.

We may account for these claims to the patrimonies and the patriarchal jurisdiction not being pressed in the hundred years that elapsed between the murder of John VIII. and the Pontificate of John XV. on at least two grounds. First, that no less than thirty-two bishops occupied the Roman see during that time, and, secondly, that as in Rome so in the other Latin cities of Southern Italy, the patronage of the greater bishoprics passed into the hands of the local nobility.

John XV. was a protégé of the Crescentius family, and he appears on the scene at the time when the prestige of the Roman see was at the lowest ebb. We know little about him beyond the fact that after a short interval he succeeded his predecessor John XIV. (sometime Bishop of Pavia), who had been murdered shortly after the death of his friend and patron, the Emperor Otto II. At about this time certain of the Southern Latin sees, including Salerno and Amalfi, were raised to the rank of archbishoprics. This had already been done with Capua at the instance of the reigning family, and the twofold object of these steps seems to have been to gratify the local magnates, and to act as a set-off to the Byzantine Metropolitans in Calabria and Apulia, then recently created by Nicephoros Phocas.* The promotion of the see of Amalfi and the creation of one at Capri are usually attributed to this revival.

* The student who is interested in this period will find a review of it in the second volume of Gay's *L'Italie Meridionale et l'Empire Byzantin*.

MONTE CASSINO

Sta Maria delle cinque torri at S. Germano

The historians of Monte Cassino attribute the erection of this church to Abbot Teodemaro* in the last quarter of the eighth century. The monastery recently destroyed by Goths and abandoned for just over a century, had then been rebuilt about seventy years. The plan of a square church divided into nine compartments, with small domes to cover the angle compartments and a larger dome to cover the central one, is common enough in Byzantine churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The south of Italy possesses two examples of it in the churches known as the Cattolica at Stilo and in S. Mark at Rossano, both of them in Calabria.† But in those two churches and in the many other examples of the use of this plan in the Levant, the domes are cylindrical of the high pitch and pepper-pot shape afterwards adopted by the Normans in building their Sicilian churches. I am not aware of any other church in Southern Europe, of this date at all events, where square lanterns take the place of domes. There is a church‡ built on this plan in Lower Nubia, at a village called Addendan, twenty miles north of Wady Halfa, and other examples have been found in Upper Nubia and Abyssinia, where the Ethiopian ritual requires the altar to be placed in the centre of the church with an ambulatory round it.

With the exception of the pillars and their caps and portions of the walls, it is impossible to tell how much of Teodemaro's fabric now remains. We have not been able to find either an accurate description or any satisfactory account of the foundation of this church; and if any records on the subject exist in the annals of the monastery they have not, so far as I know, been published. Schulz describes the church and gives a ground-plan

* *Storia della Badia di Monte Cassino* Luigi Tosti, 1842. Also *Monte Cassino, Descrizione*. By F. della Marra, 1775.

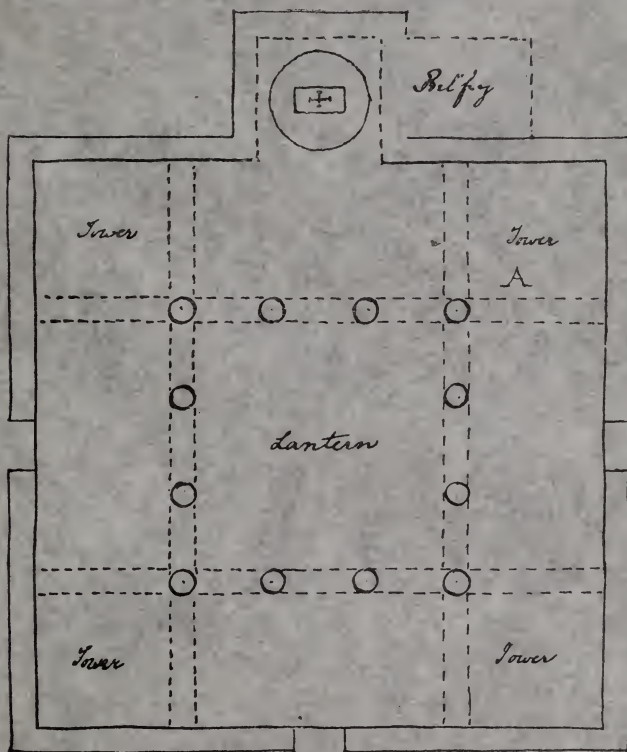
† Vol. i. p. 95.

‡ It was excavated by Messrs. Mileham and Maciver in the Eckley B. Coxe, jun., expedition to Nubia. See their account in the publication of the University of Pennsylvania, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, published at Philadelphia in 1910. I am indebted to Mr. J. Crowfoot for the reference to Abyssinia.

S. Maria.
Cinque torri.

Looking diagonally across the nave.

Plan.



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and section, but the latter appears to have been copied from an older work * and we suspect that Schulz was never inside the church but took the information he gives from Leo d'Ostia and Tosti. In the first place the plan is wrong, for there is only one apse and no indication that the side apses shown in it ever existed. Schulz observes that Leo d'Ostia does not mention three apses, and though not impossible it is extremely unlikely that a Latin church of this date and in this locality would have more than one apse. In the next place, the section represents all the pillars as fluted. Schulz correctly states that two of the twelve pillars are made of cippollino and the others of granite, but only one, the second on the north side, is fluted, and the others are quite plain.

The accompanying plan does not profess to be more than a rough sketch intended to show the shape of the church and the place where the picture was taken from. The photograph is from A looking towards B. The view of the exterior, taken from the roof of a house, is not very satisfactory, but it shows the odd arrangement of the lanterns and roof that distinguish this church. This roof is made of tiles supported on joists and rafters exposed to view inside. The intervening spaces have ceilings of plaster in the form of elongated cross vaults. Beside the round-headed windows in the side walls the church is lighted by square windows in each face of the central lantern and by round-headed windows in the outer sides of each of the side lanterns. The tower on the south-east side is a modern addition.

There are three entrances to the church, on the north, south, and west sides, and four steps lead from the ground outside down to the floor. The general appearance inside is very pleasing, owing to the handsome pillars and the effective play of light on them from the windows above. The shafts are monoliths, and as Tosti observes, the caps were obviously taken from a Roman building. They are so well preserved that at first I took them to be mediæval copies, but a closer inspection shows that they are

* *Seroux d'Agincourt. Histoire de l'art par les monuments*, 1823. Plate XXV. 43 and 44. And for text, vol. iii. p. 13. See also the illustration of an Armenian church, Plate XXVII. 28. Also three churches two miles from Erivan. *Voyage en Perse*, Chard; pub. at Amsterdam in 1735, vol. i. p. 214.

Roman and that they were all made at the same time. There are no Christian emblems upon them, but a small device in a rosette, probably intended to represent a flower.*

The present apse is a square room covered by a dome, both apparently later additions, that have been smeared, like the rest of the church, with plaster and whitewash. Nothing is now visible of the wall paintings or texts mentioned by Tosti, but no doubt they still exist under the plaster.

One may, perhaps, be permitted to conjecture that the plan of this church is merely a variation of the common Levantine plan of dividing a nave into nine squares and covering the central and angle squares with domes. It must be remembered that Monte Cassino was the resort of pilgrims and travellers from all over the Christian world, and consequently just the kind of place where one might expect to find a peculiar design imported from abroad.

* Cf. some of the capitals in the Christian basilicas at Rome. The Christian copies of classical originals are sometimes good enough to deceive the very elect.

NORTH AFRICA

I

THE history of the Church in North Africa after the proclamation of Christianity may be divided into three periods. The first, or Roman period, commencing in 314 and ending with the conquest of Carthage by Genseric in 437; the second, or Vandal period, ending with the capture of Gelimer by Belisarius in 534; and the third, or Byzantine period, ending after Carthage was taken by the Arabs, when the Christians were given the option of becoming Mahometans or leaving the country. From that time Christianity disappeared from North Africa, and by degrees the country, like Morocco of to-day, lapsed into a condition of anarchy and desolation.

It is probable that the Christians did build some churches before the 'Peace' of the Church in 314, but archæological research has so far failed to identify any particular church with this early period in North Africa. From the writings of the African Fathers it is certain that soon after 314 many churches were built, and as the ruins show, usually in the suburbs of the cities. This was done, it is said, not to offend the pagans, but the more probable object was to be near the Christian cemeteries.

It is also certain that directly after the Arab conquests in the end of the seventh century when the Christian clergy were dispersed and exiled, the native Berber population in a body became Mahometans, and church building came to an abrupt end.

If the proclamation of Christianity affords a convenient terminus a quo for the study and dating of Christian architecture in North Africa, the Arab conquest with the proscription of Christianity and the dispersal of the Christians that ensued, supplies a correspondingly convenient terminus ad quem.

To fix the date of any particular church within this period is a very difficult matter, as the architecture, the basilican plan, the timber and tile roofing, the position of the altar, the choir or tribunes, the semi-circular apse with clergy seats in tiers, and the bishop's throne in the centre, were the same throughout the whole period. And in this part of North Africa nothing, as a rule, is left of the old churches above the footings, so that the archæologist must be content with the ground plan, the mosaic pavement, or such stray fragments of the fabric, capitals, carved stones and other pieces of decorative detail, as may have had the good fortune to escape the destructive hands of the Arabs.

It is hardly less difficult to determine whether a church was built in the Roman, the Vandal, or the Byzantine period and by the orthodox, the Donatist or the Arian communities. But it may be assumed that the great majority in Tunis were built by the orthodox, either in the Roman or the Byzantine period, that some were built by the Donatists, and few or none by the Arians. The latter at any rate had no need to build, for the churches, the sees and the revenues of the orthodox were confiscated by the Vandals and handed over to the Arian clergy. And in that connection the names Vandal and Arian may be used synonymously and applied to what in fact became a garrison Church, that lasted so long as the successors of Genseric were masters of this part of Africa and came to an end when they were conquered.

In Tunisia I have not come across any indication, such for example as the symbol 'Deo Laudes,' that would identify a church with the Donatists* or other schismatics; some no doubt existed, and S. Optat complains of the number of churches built by them; but these were chiefly in Numidia where the sect prevailed. We may account for the absence of evidence of the Arian or Donatist occupation of the Latin churches by supposing, and I think with reason, that when the Orthodox came into their own again in Justinian's reign all traces of it were obliterated.

* On the Donatists: Milman's, *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 229; Mason's *Persecutions of Diocletian*, p. 154; Broglie, vol. i. p. 254; Foakes Jackson, p. 286; Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*; Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine*; Gsell, *L'Algérie dans l'Antiquité*.

CAIRO.

Anba Schenouda.

Screen and altar rail in Alexandria museum.

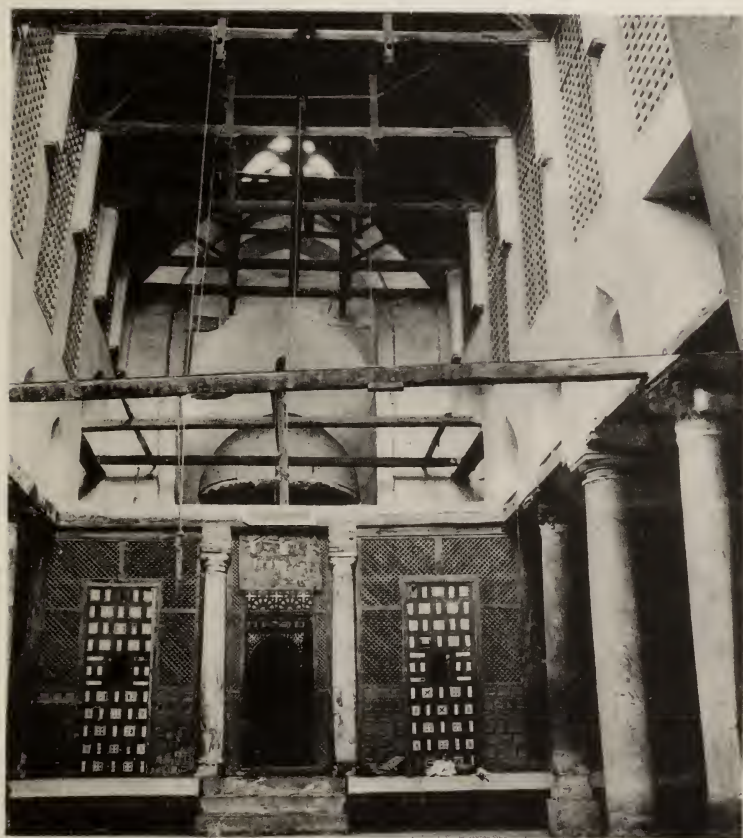
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To determine the date of any particular church within this period is a very difficult matter, as the architecture, the basilican plan, the hammer and tile roofing, the position of the altar, the nave and aisles, the semi-circular apse with clergy seats in the apse, and the bishop's throne in the centre, were the same throughout the whole period. And in this part of North Africa nothing, as a rule, is left of the old churches above the footings, so that the archaeologist must be content with the ground plan, the mosaic pavement, or such stray fragments of the fabric, capitals, carved stones and other pieces of decorative detail, as may have had the good fortune to escape the destructive hands of the Arabs.

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* On the Donatists: Milson's *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 229; Milson's *Persecutions of Donatists*, p. 134; Epiphanius, vol. i. p. 254; Foakes Jackson, p. 295; Hippolytus, *History of the Church*; Foakes Jackson, *The African Byzantine*; Grail, *History of the Donatists*.



The student of mediæval ecclesiology who is familiar with the fundamental difference between the structure of a twelfth century Latin and Greek church in the position of the altar, the concealment of the sanctuary by a screen, and the presence of the chapel of the prothesis and the diaconicon, might perhaps suppose that there would be no difficulty in determining whether a Tunisian church belonged to the Roman or the Byzantine period, whether it had been built by the early missionaries from Rome or by the Greeks who followed the conquest of Belisarius. Unfortunately it is not so, and the obvious explanation seems to be first, that minor differences of use apart, the holy mysteries were celebrated in early times substantially in the same simple way throughout Christendom, and secondly that Christianity in this part of North Africa did not last sufficiently long after the Byzantine conquest for the great change introduced in the Byzantine liturgy by the Greek ecclesiastics after Justinian's time to have affected church building in these distant provinces.

The most evident architectural changes necessitated by the altered ritual was the addition of the prothesis and the diaconicon on either side of the central apse containing the altar, and the shifting of the altar itself from the nave close up to the central apse.

At S. Eirene, for example, the altar must have stood well out in the nave of the church and not in the semi-circular apse, for the latter is provided with seats for the clergy arranged in tiers round the wall as we find them in the Tunisian and Nubian churches. The altar, therefore, probably stood in a place where it could be seen by all the congregation, and there was certainly no high screen in front of it as there is in the Greek and Coptic churches of to-day.*

It does not, however, follow that the congregations of that early date witnessed the celebration of the holy mysteries at the altar as in the English and Latin Churches of to-day any more than they do in the Armenian Church, where the altar, habitually exposed to view, is concealed by a movable curtain drawn in front of it at the celebration.

* Cf. The screen in the church of Anba Shanudah in Dair Abu-s-Sifain in Old Cairo, and the tribunes with the altar in front in the church at Faras, Lower Nubia; both illustrated here.

This curtain arrangement must be of very early date, for there is a marble in S. Sofia representing the sanctuary of a church provided with curtains partly drawn aside to show the Holy Table with a cross on it. The curtains appear to have been attached to a canopy or baldacchino of the kind commonly found in the Coptic churches of Old Cairo, and many pavements of the larger Tunisian churches have traces of the foundation of some such erection over the altar. There is in the Bardo Museum at Tunis a mosaic representing the interior of a church.* The drawing is conventional and out of perspective, but the artist obviously intended to represent a basilican church and the altar stands exposed to view in the middle of the nave towards the sanctuary. What object three upright lines are intended to represent, whether the pillars of a canopy over the altar, curtains, or even altar lights is not clear, but there is certainly no indication of a closed screen here or in any of the ruined churches in Tunisia. It is likely, however, that these African churches may have sometimes possessed open screens like the 'pergula' in S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, and the upright lines may be intended to indicate an open screen of that kind.

Again the triapsidal arrangement occurs in the earliest as well as the latest buildings. In the basilica at Tebessa, for example, there are the prothesis and diaconicon, though the church was built long before the reign of Justinian, when the Byzantine liturgy was elaborated. In Constantinople this triapsidal arrangement affords an unfailing test of the age of a church, because the three apses were provided to suit an elaborate ritual, introduced after Justinian's period and still practised in the Greek Church of to-day.

A conjecture that this later and more elaborate Byzantine ritual I have alluded to was copied from a 'use' of the African Church presents itself temptingly, but there is no evidence to justify it, or indeed an assumption that these side chapels in the early African churches, whether basilican or trefoil, had any ritual significance. There is a strong probability that they had, and that is all that can safely be said. In one case, for example, where the church has been burned, broken fragments of the

* From Tabarka, illustrated here. See also the reference below under Sidi Abich and Bir bou Rekba.

Coptic screens and font.

*S Michael,
Kamula.*

*Nakadeh,
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* From Tebessa, illustrated here. See also the reference below under Sidi Bou Said and Sidi Bou Rahel.



glass Communion vessels were found on the floor of the side apse. From this it has been surmised that these side chapels were used as vestries and for the offerings of the faithful; and if that be so, then they may be regarded in a way as the predecessors of the Byzantine prothesis and diaconicon. Their presence in an early church like the basilica at Tebessa came to me as a surprise, and shows that this architectural peculiarity cannot be used, as in Constantinople, to fix the date of a church, for it occurs also in a later church like El Kef, which was certainly built long after the Byzantine conquest.

The difference between the Byzantine triple apse chancel and the chancel arrangement found in the earlier African churches, like Announa or Tebessa, must be distinguished. In the latter the altar stood, as it does in the Western Church, out in the open, and the apse, copied from a secular Roman basilica, was fitted as a kind of theatre with a bishop's throne in the centre and seats for the clergy on either side of it. This plan is made familiar to us by the basilican churches in Rome, like S. Clemente, or the church at Torcello, Parenzo Cathedral in Istria, or S. Eirene at Constantinople. But in the Byzantine arrangement the small central apse was put to enable the celebrant to walk round the altar at the celebration, and the altar itself stood concealed from the view of the congregation by the screen or iconostasis.

The use of Roman materials taken by the Christians from temples and other public edifices for church building affords a surer indication of date, but the test is not always reliable. The edict of Constantine did no more than recognize the right of the Christians to practice their religion and worship openly. They certainly availed themselves of the new law to push forward an active propaganda and the conversions proceeded rapidly. No organized steps were taken by the Government to suppress paganism till the reign of Theodosius, and some temples continued, up to that time, to be used for the heathen ceremonies. It is true that in Egypt, for example, the temples were destroyed as part of the Christian propaganda, and something of the sort may well have occurred in this part of North Africa. But as several temples were appropriated by the Christians and used as churches, it would seem that the sup-

pression of paganism did not of necessity involve the destruction of the temples, and in some provinces the law actually forbade it.*

The Roman theatres, forts, courts, market places, triumphal arches and the like stand, as secular buildings, on a different footing to the temples. In Constantine's reign these, too, were comparatively new, for they had been built during the period of great prosperity in the reigns of the African Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla. It is difficult to believe that the solid and substantial masonry used by the Romans for these buildings had in little more than a century and a half so far perished and fallen into decay as to be fit only for breaking up and providing material for newer edifices. It is known that Genseric destroyed the forts for strategic reasons and the Vandals have consequently been credited with the wanton destruction of all Roman monuments. This assumption is altogether unwarranted, for the Vandals, like their neighbours the Goths in Italy, aspired to replace the Romans and carry on their method of government and civilization. It is more probable that the native Berbers are to blame for the wholesale destruction of these Roman monuments.

However that may be the use of Roman materials in quantities in either forts or churches may generally be taken to indicate that those buildings were put up after the Byzantine conquest, for in the military treatise of Justinian's period, called the *Nea Taktika*, the engineers were expressly advised to use materials from ancient buildings in constructing their forts, and to select some site near an ancient town where such materials could be readily obtained.

There is ample evidence that this advice was almost invariably adopted. The task that Justinian set himself in reclaiming North Africa for the later Roman Empire involved much more than the overthrow of the Vandal Kingdom. The country devastated during the century of Vandal dominion had to be re-settled and defended against the Berber tribes and clans,

* At Dougga the temples of Jupiter and Minerva, and *Cœlestis* (No. 6 in Guérin's list, vol. ii. p. 131) were appropriated by the Christians. The foundations of the semicircular apse added to the cella of the latter, when it was converted in a church, still remain. See also Gsell, vol. ii. p. 122.

Mosaic from Tabarca representing an ancient basilica.

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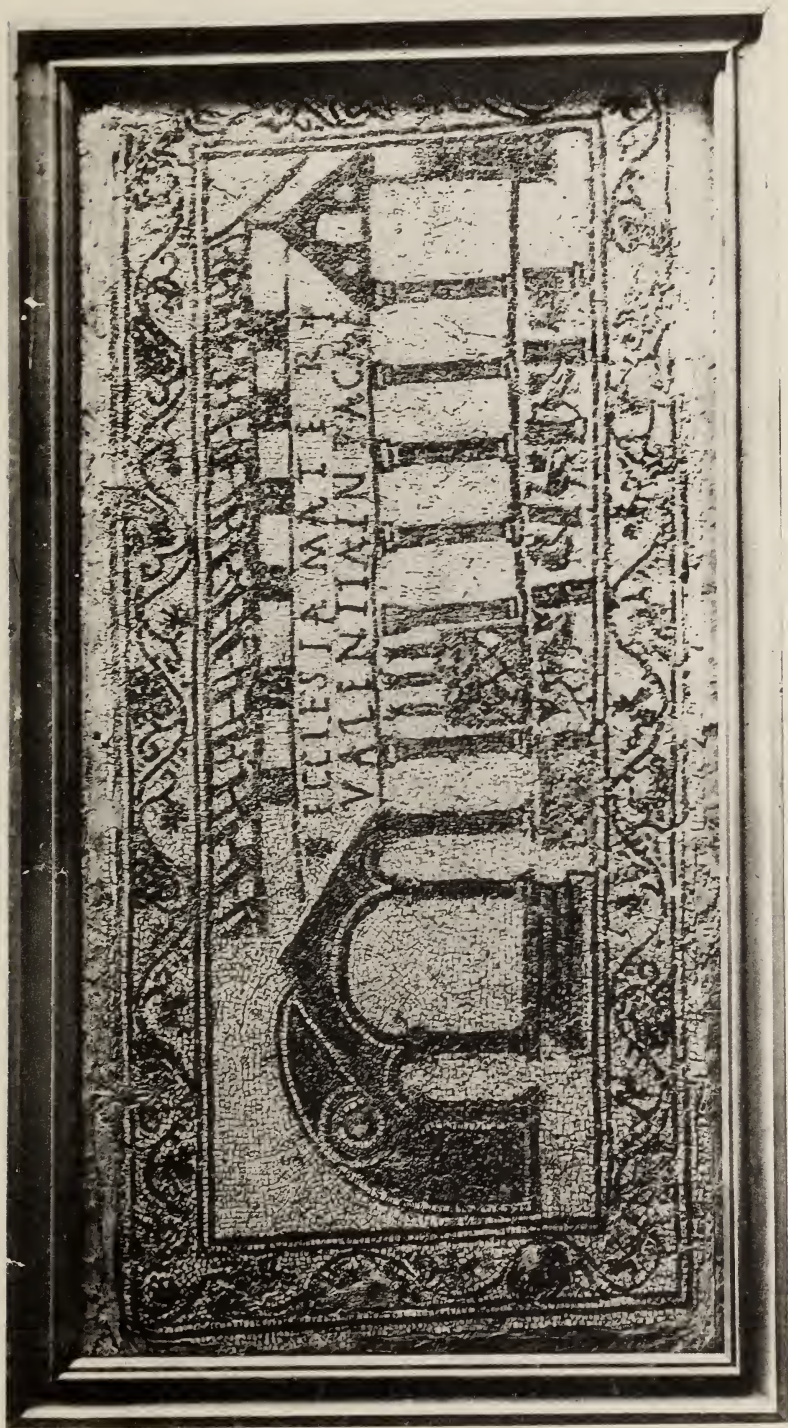
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whose subjection neither the Romans nor the Vandals had succeeded in accomplishing. Unfortunately for Justinian, one of Genseric's first acts when he conquered Africa was to destroy the Roman fortifications. So soon, therefore, as Gelimer had been taken prisoner and the Vandal forces were broken up, the Byzantines set to work to build forts and block houses all over the country to keep order and protect the colonists. A great number of these forts still exist in a more or less complete condition, some few, indeed, are almost as perfect as the day they were put up. They are all built with stones of large size taken from Roman buildings, obviously roughly and hurriedly put together, and they show that the advice in the *Nea Taktika* was almost invariably adopted.

In the ruined towns of Central Tunis it will be noticed that as a rule the churches were built, like the forts, with Roman materials. At Sbeitla and at Uppena, churches had been rebuilt in part at least, with Roman materials on the sites and over the débris of earlier churches. The Byzantine basilicas at El Kef, at Announa in Algiers, and the recently discovered church in the outskirts of Dougga, all contain Roman materials. So also do the garrison chapels built in the Byzantine forts at Haidra and Sbeitla. And to this short list many more examples might be added.

The choice of dates then will rest between the Roman and the Byzantine periods.

Of these ruined Christian churches by far the most interesting and important example for the study of Roman and Byzantine archæology is at Uppena, where two large basilicas were built on the same site. The earlier basilica built before the Vandal occupation, probably in the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, contained a mosaic tomb with an inscription recording the names of a number of Christian martyrs of the early persecutions, and the later basilica, built after the Byzantine conquest, contained a mosaic inscription in which the earlier inscription was repeated and decorated with an ornamental border and cross in a common Byzantine pattern.

In this church, and at Sidi Abich near by, the tombs of several bishops were found, and it might be supposed that there would be no difficulty in identifying them by their names with the

bishops who are commemorated by the early fathers as having attending Councils. But unfortunately this is not so, and the number of cases where an identification of this kind can be made may be reckoned on the fingers of one hand. It is very odd that the year is never given on these tombs though the age of the deceased, the month, day, and even hour of death are often recorded. The ornamental border round the inscription of the martyrs at Uppena, illustrates what has been said respecting the use of decorative detail as a guide to date. The pattern on this particular border is frequently met with* and from the example at Uppena, it may be safely taken to indicate that the work belongs to the Byzantine and not to the Roman period.

A few churches in seaport towns on the East coast of Tunis were apparently decorated with capitals, consoles, and other carvings designed from Constantinople patterns of the Justinian period. But in the Interior the churches were decorated either with poor copies of Roman models or native designs derived from them, and they afford no evidence of date.

I speak with less certainty concerning the fonts and the baptisteries containing them; probably they will afford some evidence of date when more is known of the ceremony they were built to suit, and whether they were intended for the Sacrament of baptism or, like the Coptic Epiphany tanks, for some periodical and commemorative service of ablution. The distinction will at once be appreciated by those who are familiar with the arrangements of the Copts of Egypt, where every church is provided with a ceremonial tank as well as a sacramental font. These tanks, usually 2 to 3 metres square, and about three-quarters of a metre deep, are sunk in the floor of the church near the main entrance. They are generally covered up with boards and only used at certain times of the year, such as Maundy Thursday, for a service that is certainly nothing but a commemorative act of ablution. The font proper for baptisms is usually a large earthen jar sunk in a niche or hole in the wall about 1 metre from the ground. This niche, converted into a sort of cupboard with a door to it, is generally tucked away in some obscure corner of the church.

No branch of the Christian Church has been more thoroughly

* Sousse Museum; small basilica on North-west side of the city of Sbeitla.

Baptismal Fonts.

S. Michael Kamula, Egypt, and Sidi abich Enfida, Tunis.

bishops who are commemorated by the early fathers at attending Councils. But unfortunately this is not so, and a number of cases where an identification of this kind can be made may be reckoned on the fingers of one hand. It is very odd that the year is never given on these tombs though the age of the deceased, the month, day, and even hour of death are often recorded. The ornamental border round the inscription of the martyr at Uppena, illustrates what has been said respecting the use of decorative detail as a guide to date. The pattern on this particular border is frequently met with * and from the example at Uppena, it may be safely taken to indicate that the work belongs to the Byzantine and not to the Roman period.

A few churches in seaport towns on the East coast of Tunis were apparently decorated with capitals, consoles, and other carvings designed from Constantinople patterns of the Justinian period. But in the Interior the churches were decorated either with poor copies of Roman models or native designs derived from them, and they afford no evidence of date.

I speak with less certainty concerning the fonts and the baptisteries containing them; probably they will afford some evidence of date when more is known of the ceremony they were built for. ^{Baptismal Font} ^{2. Michael Kamil} ^{and Sidi Abdallah} they were intended for the Sacrament of baptism or, like the Coptic Epiphany tanks, for some periodical and commemorative service of ablution. The distinction will at once be appreciated by those who are familiar with the arrangements of the Copts of Egypt, where every church is provided with a ceremonial tank as well as a sacramental font. These tanks, usually 2 to 3 metres square, and about three-quarters of a metre deep, are sunk in the floor of the church near the main entrance. They are generally covered up with boards and only used at certain times of the year, such as Maundy Thursday, for a service that is certainly nothing but a commemorative act of ablution. The font proper for baptisms is usually a large earthen jar sunk in a niche or hole in the wall about 1 metre from the ground. This niche, converted into a sort of cupboard with a door to it, is generally tucked away in some obscure corner of the church.

No branch of the Christian Church has been more thoroughly

* Source: *Shabaneh*, small building on Northwest side of the city of Sbeitla.



conservative in points of ceremony than the Coptic community. There seems little reason, therefore, to doubt that these tanks represent the earliest kind of font used for adults for the administration of the Sacrament, and that when the fashion of christening by immersion changed and small fonts for children were habitually provided, the Epiphany tanks were retained for occasional commemorative services. This dual arrangement does not usually exist in North African churches.

An example of this dual arrangement will be found in the octagonal baptistery at Albenga in Liguria. The general view of the interior of the baptistery shows the original cuvette in the centre of the floor. The font proper now stands in one of the bays. The former is made of stone, the latter of white marble, painted at a later date. Judging by some fragments of Byzantine carving and the style and colouring of the mosaic in the bay used for the altar one may be permitted to conjecture that the baptistery is not later than the middle of the eighth century and probably a good deal earlier. Many fragments of the same kind and date will be seen in the walls of the adjoining cathedral. I expect the same dual arrangement of font also existed in the baptistery of the cathedral of Fréjus. This chapel is built on the same octagonal plan and is of about the same size as the baptistery at Albenga, but it has suffered at the hands of the restorer, and the floor has been repaved and a small font erected where the original cuvette should be.

One of the oldest fonts in Tunisia is a plain rectangular tank sunk in the floor of the first church at Uppena, and exactly like the Coptic Epiphany tanks. When the upper and later church was built with Roman materials over the first and at a higher floor level, the old tank was left and a font was built beside it at the new floor level. This font, sunk in the new floor, has a circular cuvette decorated with eight semi-circular lobes scooped out of the sides according to a fashion that was generally adopted in all these provinces. It occurs in the so-called basilica of Justinian at Carthage,* and in a large basilica at Sidi Abich, built

* This is the large church situated in the plain to the south-east of the chapel of S. Louis and the station of the tramway. I call it Justinian's basilica to distinguish it from the greater church of the *Damus el Karita*, not that Justinian had any hand in building it; but it seems likely that it was built after the conquest of Carthage in his reign. The fabric is practically razed to the ground, but the

of Roman materials, and in these cases the fonts are coeval with the churches and not later additions. The lobed fonts in the monastery of Tebessa and in the *Damus el Karita* at Carthage, on the other hand, are found in conditions that indicate that they were added after the main building had been erected. I call this lobed style of font Byzantine, not that it has any particular connection with Constantinople,* but because it seems to belong to the period of Justinian's conquest or of the Church revival that ensued.

One peculiarity that occurs, not in every lobed tank, but frequently enough to make it common, indicates that this style was copied from some earlier model. The sequence may be conveniently illustrated from the fonts in the Bardo Museum and in the ancient basilica at *Bir bou Rekba*, that seem to belong to the early period and are of different shape but have the same peculiarity. They are small circular tanks sunk in the floor provided with two flights of steps facing one another and leading down from the floor level into the *cuvette*. At *Bir bou Rekba* the steps are of full size and obviously intended for the descent of an adult into the water on one side and the ascent on the other after the administration of the Sacrament.

The baptistery in this case was an octagonal structure at the east end of the church and must have been a handsome building covered with marbles and mosaics. In the church at *Sidi Abich* near *Uppéna* a lobed font was put in the same position behind the altar.†

The Byzantine lobed fonts are also commonly provided with these little steps placed at right angles but never opposite one another; and it seems likely from their very small size that they were either ornamental or emblematic and were not intended for use, at any rate by adults. The presence of these steps, however, clearly indicates the kind of ceremony that was contemplated in theory, and when the practical forms it took at different periods are known, these fonts may afford some evidence of the period they belong to.

pavement, ground plan, and baptistery are well preserved and give a good idea of the arrangement of an African church.

* But there is a trilobed font in the courtyard of the *Hodga Mustafa Pasha Djami*, in the *Balata* quarter, formerly a Byzantine church.

† I wonder whether the round patch in the apse of the church figured in the Bardo mosaic was intended to represent a font. See the frontispiece.

*Clergy seats,
Faras, Nubia and Announa Algeria.
Lamp at Faras,*

of Baouian material, and in these cases the fonts are on the churches and not later additions. The lobed font in the monastery of Tekessa and in the Dairus of Kargia at Curik, on the other hand, are found in conditions that indicate that they were added after the main building had been erected. I call this last style of font Byzantine, not that it has any particular connection with Constantinople,* but because it seems to belong to the period of Justinian's conquest or of the Church revival that ensued.

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The baptistery in this case was a polygonal structure at the rear of the church and was not a handsome building covered with marbles. In the church at Sidi Abou Uggren a lobed font was put in the same position behind the altar.

The Byzantine lobed fonts are also commonly provided with these little steps placed at right angles but never opposite one another; and it seems likely from their very small size that they were either ornamental or emblematic and were not intended for use, at any rate by adults. The presence of these steps, however, clearly indicates the kind of ceremony that was contemplated in theory, and when the practical forms it took at different periods are known, these fonts may afford some evidence of the period they belong to.

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* This basin is a lobed font in the courtyard of the Dodge Museum, Bardo Museum, in the Bardo quarter, formerly a Byzantine church.

† I consider the round patch in the space of the church figured in the Bardo Museum also intended to represent a font. See the frontispiece.



It is vain, I am sure, to try to fix a date from the shape of the crosses found in decorative detail, on tombs, or as dedication emblems. The Latin cross, for instance, occurs in buildings of both the Roman and the Byzantine periods, and is as common in the East as the so-called Greek cross is in the West. It will be found at Sohag, in the Red Monastery, on several tombs in the Alexandria Museum, on the tomb of a bishop of the late fifth century in the baptistery of the large basilica of Sbeitla, and on the Byzantine pillar in the French church at Sfax. The five pointed cross or star occurs at Sbeitla, in Armenia and in Norman buildings as, for instance, the chapel at Guildford Castle. The Coptic cross with a loop at the top, is, perhaps, an exception, for it is found only in the Nile Valley and Delta.

Every writer on early Christian archæology has endeavoured to show that some evidence of date can be deduced from the form of the sacred monogram on the cross with the XP and AΩ or αω in the 'field.' The most satisfactory account of these emblems will be found in M. Gsell's book on the antiquities of Algeria. The only conclusion I have arrived at is that XP with αω seems to be earlier than the +P with the AΩ or αω; perhaps, too, the form of the letters may be of some assistance. The plain + with the AΩ seems to be very rare. M. Gsell mentions one case where it occurs, but I have never met with an example of it.

In considering the characters used in inscriptions we stand on firmer ground. There is, for example, no mistaking a Pagan inscription of the second and third centuries when the characters are always correctly and sometimes beautifully rendered. They rapidly deteriorate in the Christian inscriptions, and in the sixth and seventh centuries Greek letters are introduced, notably D, N and A, while occasionally B and P (for R, not Q) are turned the wrong way round, and it would seem that the later the inscription the more marked these peculiarities become.* As my small collection of Christian inscriptions may be useful for purposes of comparison I give photographs of two Christian tombstones, one in the museum at Tebessa and the other in the public garden at Guelma. In the latter there are some very curious examples of

* Examples of Roman and Byzantine inscriptions are given in the *Instructions aux Correspondants du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Recherche des Antiquités*, Paris, Leroux, 1890.

tombstones with Christian inscriptions and representations of dishes and pots usually found on pagan tombs. Some of the little colophons or rubrics are also worthy of notice; they generally indicate an early date, and were copied from pagan inscriptions of the second and third centuries.

It will not escape the student's notice that while as a rule the inscriptions found in Egypt are usually in Greek those in Algiers and Tunis are invariably in Latin.

II

The following churches are described or referred to in these notes. At Carthage, the *Damus el Karita* and the so-called basilica of Justinian; churches at *Bir bou Rekba*, near *Hammamet*; *Uppena* and *Sidi Abich*, near *Enfidaville*; the trefoil chapel of *El Gebioui* in the centre of the plain of *Kairouan*; the great basilica and two other churches with a baptistery and a garrison chapel at *Sbeitla*; churches at *Kasserine* and *Thelepta*; a chapel at *Haouch Khima*, to the south of *Kasserine*; a church at *Dougga*, the trefoil chapel at *Maatria*, the church at *Tibar*; the church called the *Dar el Kus* at *El Kef*; the basilica and two small churches, the garrison chapel and part of a monastery at *Haidra*; the basilica at *Tebessa*, and the churches at *Announa* and *Timgad*.

The list I am able to present here is a very short one, but taken in conjunction with that given by M. Gsell in his second volume on the antiquities of Algeria a good idea can be obtained of the general character of the churches in these two provinces. They seem to have been built upon the same general lines in design, decoration, and internal arrangements.

I will deal with orientation first and then consider the position of the baptisteries in relation to the churches themselves, the entrance by the atrium or narthex, the arrangement of the nave, the position of the altar, the seats for the clergy in the sanctuary, the general style of architecture, the decorative detail and the use of marble.

There was obviously no hard and fast rule about the orientation of the sanctuary in either of the periods. That the position of the sanctuary at the east end was not considered essential may be

shown from the churches at Bir bou Rekba and Sidi Abich in the earlier or Roman period, and the basilicas at El Kef and Haidra in the later or Byzantine period. The sites chosen for these churches would have admitted of the sanctuary being built either at the east or west, but, while at El Kef and Bir bou Rekba it is at the east, at Sidi Abich and Haidra it is at the west. The north-west position of the sanctuaries at Dougga and at Announa may be accounted for by the geography of the sites, but these are exceptional cases.

We are so accustomed to see a font inside the church that it may seem odd to find it outside, but a separate baptistery in these churches was the invariable practice, and I know of no exception to the contrary in North Africa. The baptisteries vary in size and pattern, and there does not seem to have been any rule as to the position they were to occupy in relation to the church. I have seen only one case* where the baptistery is built at the west end or near the narthex, and in the place where one might reasonably have expected to find it. In the churches of the Roman period, at Sidi Abich and Bir bou Rekba, they are placed behind the apse of the Sanctuary. I need go no farther than Carthage for examples to illustrate what I have just said. At the *Damus El Karita*, for instance, the baptistery is on the south side near the sanctuary, while in Justinian's basilica it occupies a diametrically opposite position on the north side near the narthex. The baptisteries, as a general rule, seem to have been little cloister courts with a font in the centre covered by a baldequin raised on four pillars. This common type may be seen at Sbeitla, in the small church at Timgad, and at Justinian's church at Carthage. To this general rule the examples at Bir bou Rekba and Sidi Abich are exceptions. The former deserves careful notice, for it is likely that the church and baptistery there are as old as any Christian edifice in this part of North Africa and may represent a common primitive arrangement. The baptistery at Bir bou Rekba was an octagonal structure almost as large as the church itself. The two buildings were joined by a passage opening in the middle of the apse of the church behind the altar and leading directly to the font, which was sunk in the floor and provided with steps to accommodate the celebration of the Sacrament by immersion.

* The large basilica at Timgad.

Examples of a covered porch or narthex for the catechumens are quite common. The atrium or forecourt, on the other hand, is rare. The basilica at Tebessa and the little church in the northern quarter of Timgad are two of the few examples where these forecourts or atria occur. An example of a covered narthex will be found in the basilica at El Kef, now converted into the modern French chapel.

The pavements, as a rule, give a good idea of how the nave was divided up by low screens or balustrades. These were either solid slabs carved with crosses or other emblems, or pierced like the example in the Alexandria Museum, or inlaid with marble mosaic as in the Cappella Palatina at Palermo.

The plan of Justinian's basilica at Carthage may be taken to illustrate the kind of arrangement that is made familiar to us in the ancient basilicas at Rome, and notably S. Agnese, and S. Maria in Cosmedin. The names and purpose of these various divisions are too well known from the examples just given and from ancient and modern writers on ecclesiastical archæology to need repetition here. The choir enclosure was called the schola cantorum, and M. Gsell found an inscription in an Algerian church showing that a part screened off for women was called the cancellus virginium.* In the Greek and Coptic churches of to-day the women's quarters are also screened off, but they are usually placed in the kind of gallery or triforium that is only occasionally met with in some of the African churches, as for instance in the basilica at Tebessa.

Whether these ancient churches in North Africa had more than one altar or not is an open question, but the ruins I have seen certainly testify that the multiplicity of altars commonly found in the Coptic and Latin churches of to-day was quite unknown. I have already mentioned certain churches that are provided with lateral apsed chapels in the form of a single transept, and these, certainly, had a single altar apiece for minor or occasional services in addition to the high altar in the nave. But, as a general rule, it seems that the churches had but a single altar, and this was invariably placed in the second or third bay of the nave, counting from the sanctuary or chief apse. It was not raised up on steps according to the modern Western fashion but stood on the floor level and was

* *Les Antiquités de l'Algérie*, vol. ii. p. 148.

CROSSES.

*Assouan.**Esneh.**Old Cairo.**Assouan.**Alexandria
Museum.**Sohag.**Alexandria
Museum.**Assouan.**Alexandria
Museum.*

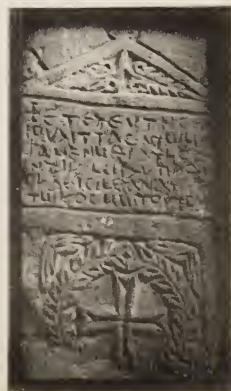
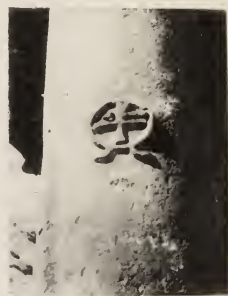
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* *Monuments de l'Afrique*, vol. II, p. 118.



apparently either like a Coptic altar, a mass of solid masonry, or, as with us, a Communion table of wood or stone with legs and top. It was usual for the table slab to contain relics of saints, and the top of a stone table, showing the kind of receptacle where these were placed will be found among the illustrations of the Sbeitla churches. These early altars were I expect furnished in much the same simple way as those of the Copts are at the present time. The mosaic representation of an altar in the west wall of S. Sofia at Constantinople has already been referred to.

In the larger churches the clergy were accommodated in the central apse and sat facing the congregation. The seats were either arranged in tiers, as at Announa, S. Eirene at Constantinople, and Torcello, or more commonly in a single row with the bishop's seat in the middle, as in the basilican churches of Rome and the Coptic churches of old Cairo, and the Nubian churches at Faras and Deberreh. This space allotted to the clergy was invariably raised as a dais above the floor of the nave and approached either by a central flight of steps or a flight on each side of it.

There remains the space between the apse and the altar to be accounted for, and this was probably occupied by the pergula or open screen used for hanging lamps. This kind of screen will be found at Leprignano in Italy or S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome. In some cases this seems to have been a place of interment for the saint or martyr by whom, or in whose honour, the church had been founded. At Dougga a sanctuary of this kind was placed in the crypt under the chancel. At Bir bou Rekba it seems that a memoria was actually under the altar, and that was, I believe, the more common practice.

There were two systems of providing shrines for the remains of saints or distinguished persons venerated in connection with a church. First, what I may call the crypt system, as at Dougga, and familiar to us in the arrangement at S. Miniato and other European examples, where the shrine is placed under a raised chancel; and secondly, the overground system where the interred were placed in a chapel. The most interesting examples of the latter were built apsewise at the extremity of the church opposite the high altar. This arrangement is not uncommon in

Germany but unusual elsewhere.* The examples here, at Sbeitla, and at Uppena, must be among the earliest in existence.

The destruction of these churches has been so complete that practically nothing remains in the way of architecture. We may, however, get a very good idea of what the churches looked like from the basilicas of Rome, and from other well known buildings such as S. Apollinare at Ravenna, or S. Gavino at Portotorres. The church at El Kef, of which more remains than of others in Algiers and Tunis, shows that the aisles were covered with cross vaults, the *voute d'arêtes*, and the nave with timbers and tile roofs. The most interesting feature in roof and arch building was the use of small tubes of pottery† made to fit into one another in the manner described in the preceding volume in the notes on El Gebiouï. This ingenious device, of Roman origin, is still resorted to by the natives of Southern Tunis, in the districts of Gafsa and Tozeur. The basilica at Tebessa had a triforium or gallery, and must have resembled S. Agnese at Rome. These galleries are occasionally met with in Africa, but they appear to have been the exception rather than the rule, and occur only in the larger churches. They are, however, common to the Coptic churches in Cairo and are reserved for the women.

The churches in general are built of lime or other stone quarried locally; some of it in the district of Feriana is poor stuff and weathers badly. Marble was only used sparingly for decorative details such as capitals, pillars, fonts, or for veneering. Most of it seems to have been imported from abroad. The pink marble seen in the font at Sbeitla and elsewhere was no doubt obtained from near Ghardimaou, in Northern Tunis, where other varieties and shades of this marble are also found. But the cippolino, which frequently occurs in large blocks, certainly came from Europe. I have found here and there, a few pieces of red and green porphyry from Egypt notably at Bir bou Rekba. Glass mosaic seems to have been fairly common for covering the roofs of domes, or semi-domes, and for decorative panels, as for example the Tebessa 'jewel.'

* Mainz Cathedral for example. Also S. Gavino at Portotorres in Sardinia; illustrated in vol. i.

† Illustrated in vol. i. Plate 70.

As the earliest Christian settlements beyond the sea-coast were in the plains of central Tunis, behind Sousse, I may begin with those churches that are situated on the Sbeitla railway, taking the latter city as a centre and starting point. Owing to the season of the year I was unable to proceed from Feriana to Tebessa across country, but the distance is not great, and as all the towns described in the Sbeitla group were on the Roman roads leading up to Tebessa, where the legion was quartered, Tebessa with Announa and Timgad, in Algeria, form the second group. The towns on the road from Tebessa towards Carthage, Haidra, El Kef, Dougga, and Tibar form a third group, and the sea coast towns, Uppena, Sidi Abich, and Carthage, a fourth group. The two churches at Uppena, on the whole, are the most important for the study of early Christian archæology, because of the wonderful collection of mosaic tombs they contained.

CENTRAL TUNIS

SBEITLA

THE ruins of Roman Sufetula, now known as Sbeitla, have been frequently described and illustrated by travellers, and it is beyond my purpose to do so here.* It seems strange, but apparently the fact that nothing is known about the city at the time of its greatest prosperity in the reigns of the African Emperors, Septimius Severus and Caracalla; but the triumphal arches, the triple temple, and numerous ruins in the neighbourhood show that under the Roman rule it must have been a flourishing provincial town in the centre of a rich agricultural district. During the later Empire we hear of Sbeitla as the capital of the Patrician Gregory who had revolted against the grandson of the Emperor Heraclius, and the defeat he suffered at the hands of the Saracens was the first of a series of disasters that led to the ultimate loss of the North African provinces to Christianity and civilization for nearly twelve hundred years.

The principal churches in Sbeitla are a large basilica with a cloister and baptistery rebuilt during the Byzantine period; another and larger basilica with a baptistery and a chapel attached to it, probably dating from the early Christian period; a small basilica on the north-west corner of the city, and the chapel in the court of the triple temple that was converted into a fort by Justinian's generals after the conquest of the Vandals.

Church of Bellator

The Byzantine basilica, of which much more is left above ground than of the other churches, lies to the north-east of the

* Since these notes were made the Sbeitla churches and their dependent buildings have been described by M. Merlin in the publication of the Department of Antiquities at Tunis. *Notes et Documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts 1912. Forum et Eglises de Sufetula*, par A. Merlin, pub. Leroux, Paris.

triple temple. M. Merlin identifies this building as the church of the bishop Bellator, from a mutilated inscription found in the western aspe, and probably belonging to one of the sarcophagi. The name Bellator has not hitherto figured in the list of bishops of Sufetula, and his date is not known.

This church can be recognized by the south wall that still remains intact from plinth to eaves. This wall is made, like the fort, of large stones taken from Roman buildings. The ruins show that there were two churches, and the greater part that remains, the walls, the sanctuary, and the choir, belonged to the second or Byzantine edifice. In these notes it is the second church that I am more particularly referring to. In fact the two churches occupied the same site and were of the same width but the later church was, as the inner apse shows, rather shorter than the earlier church; also the floor of the earlier church seems to have been at a uniform level throughout, while the sanctuary of the later church was raised on a platform or dais, and the place of the altar shifted further east. The body of the church was divided into a nave $24\frac{3}{4}$ metres long and $16\frac{1}{4}$ metres wide, single aisles on each side of it $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide, one large semicircular apse for the sanctuary at the east end, and a similar but smaller apse used as a funerary chapel at the west end. The latter was enclosed in a square outer wall and had a chamber on each side of it. The choir, occupying the last two bays of the nave and raised 60 centimetres above the nave floor, is a later addition. The principal entrance was by a door in the west end of the south wall; it had a porch in front of it, and the bases of columns and a piece of a pavement along the outside of the wall seem to indicate that there was a kind of cloister court on the south side of the church. Two narrow doors on the north side give access to a more important cloister containing a baptistery.

The view of the inside is taken from the south-west corner of the church showing that the nave was separated from the aisles by pillars of marble in pairs; these supported a roof made of timber and tiles. The floor was covered with mosaic pavement and here and there stone footings mark the gangways that divided the tribunes, choir, and the part allotted to women. This division is found with little variety in all the earlier churches I have seen in North Africa. In the middle of the

nave, in front of the two steps leading to the raised choir, there is a square enclosure to mark the place where the altar of the original church stood, for, as the floor shows, the raised choir or chancel beyond is a later addition. Proceeding up the centre of the nave we come to two steps leading to the raised floor of the chancel. About a metre beyond them a line of stones laid across the chancel marks the screen that surrounded the later altar; the latter stood in the middle of the chancel. In the chapel of the prothesis I noticed a piece of a fluted pillar made of white marble that may have been one of the legs belonging to an altar slab lying close by. The places for the four legs to fit in are seen in the four corners, and the larger horseshoe-shaped recess in the centre was made to hold relics.

Beyond the altar of the second church there are the foundations of an apse made of rough rubble. This was the end of the second or later church which was therefore a good deal shorter than the earlier one. The original apse made of stones lies a little beyond it to the eastward, and it is made of large dressed stones and contains the foundations of the seats of the clergy arranged in a semicircle within it according to the usual plan. The original aisles terminated in square walls, and there is no sign that they were pierced with doors to lead to the two chambers usually found in North African churches. M. Merlin's plan shows the central apse projecting from the rest of the building and not contained in an outer square wall. This arrangement is so very unusual that there may be some doubt as to the correctness of his plan. It would seem that the raised floor in the north aisle of the chancel that belonged to the second church indicates the chapel of the prothesis. The floor on the south aisle is not raised to correspond with it, and there is therefore no indication of the diaconicon. It was, however, not unusual to have one chapel only.

Returning now to the west end, the apse which is rather smaller than that in the chancel had been excavated and contained two or three coffins of stone, one of them nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres long. These probably belonged to the Saints or Bishops for whom the apse had been built. M. Merlin records the discovery of a stone with the following inscription engraved on it: BELLATOR EPCS VIXI(T)INP(ACE). . . . This probably be-

longed to one of the sarcophagi. Above the inscription was a cross in a circle. The approach to this apse from the nave was by a flight of three broad steps flanked by two pieces of cornices, from a Roman building.

A small door on the north side of the church leads out into the cloister of the baptistery. In a corner of the cloister on the floor is a large sarcophagus with the cover lying by it. The cover has a Latin cross in an oval medallion, and an inscription in well cut capital letters giving the name of a bishop in the beginning of the fifth century. The only letters I could read were HIC, and below them EPSC, but M. Merlin was able to decipher the legend and renders it thus :

HIC INVENTA EST DP SCI JVCVNDI
EPSC PER INQVISITIONE AMACI EPSCPI

Near by is a console carved with a crude representation of peacocks drinking from a chalice,* and another stone carved with a vine pattern.

The ground plan will give some idea of the general appearance of this baptistery and cloister. The font enclosed in a balustrade, and apparently covered by a canopy on pillars, was of the usual hexagonal variety with two sets of small steps leading from the floor level down to the basin. At the south side the balustrade projected into a small apse. The limestone columns and their capitals are of the late Roman type and apparently were newly made for the building.†

Church of Servus

About a hundred and fifty yards south of this basilica there is another group of Christian buildings consisting of a still larger basilica lying north and south, and a baptistery and chapel adjoining it all built at different dates. The basilica is identified by M. Merlin as the church of the priest Servus. Of the former

* Illustrated as No. 35 on Plate 71, to vol. i.

† Merlin : *Notes et Documents, Forum et Eglises de Sufetula*, p. 42.

nothing but the pavement and the foundations of an apse containing empty stone sarcophagi remain. Two or three inscriptions were found here, and among them the following dedication on the lintel of a door in the words, HIC DOMUS ORATIONIS. The epitaphs to Servus, who was a priest and one Natalika, are in the usual phraseology. The complete destruction of this church makes it impossible to form any idea of the general plan or of the internal arrangements, but it must have been a very large building and probably had a nave and double aisles on each side.

The Baptistery

The adjoining baptistery was built in a large square Roman edifice of which only the angles remain, and as the photograph shows it looks like the remains of the cella of a Roman temple and similar to one at Ain Tounga. This was closed on three sides and open on the west side facing the basilica. In the centre stood the font enclosed in a little area with a low wall screen round it. The font was divided into three parts; the first or upper part is hexagonal, and on two sides are little flights of steps leading to the second or middle part made in the form of a cross with four lobes each containing three steps leading down into the cuvette. The whole was covered by a canopy supported on pillars that have now disappeared, though their bases can be seen in the angles of the screen. This floor as well as the screen was lined with a veneer of pink marble, while the cuvette was lined with white marble. Lying about among the various fragments of decorative carving is a block of stone with a dedication cross carved on it.*

Near the baptistery were several tombs and one with an inscription to Viola with a peculiar form of G made like a J. Adjoining the baptistery on the south side is a small church divided into nave and raised chancel terminating in a single

* Examples of this kind of cross will be found all over the Christian world. There are three in the chapel of Guildford Castle, Surrey. See No. 49 on Plate 73 of vol. i.

semicircular apse enclosed in a square wall. In the floor of the latter I noticed the stumps of the feet of the altar; these were fluted pillars of white marble set in the mosaic floor. The nave and aisles were separated by a marble screen supported by grooved posts with pear-shaped tops, and some of these are still lying about on the ground.

There is some doubt whether the building with three apses on the north-west side of the city was a church. M. Saladin so describes it and judging by the ground plan, the general appearance of the ruins that clearly belong to a building of relatively late date, and some ornamental carving that is certainly Christian he would appear to be right.

The central building consists of a nave terminating at the west end in one large and two small semicircular apses made of brick. The nave is about eight metres square and as the footings show there was a narthex or porch at the east end with a square forecourt in front of it containing a colonnade or cloister. This central building was closed in on the north, east and south sides by rooms and halls of different sizes. On the south side there are two long rectangular halls with semicircular ends like the so-called bath at Ain Tounga. Among the out chambers on the north side I noticed several mangers or troughs of the kind found in the so called stables of the monastery at Tebessa and at Haidra.

The only parts of this building that remain more than four feet above ground are the brick pilasters of the chancel arch and portions of the main apse. It would seem from what is still left of the walls that the latter was decorated with niches and windows placed alternately, the niches being like those in the chancel of the church at Tibar. On the wall of the little north apse are some well-preserved mosaics with a flowing vine pattern; the two little shafts to hold a screen in front of the apse are still in situ.

The floors of the nave and apses are covered with mosaics. Only fragments are distinguishable, but I noted several figures, a boy riding on a dolphin, a child walking with an adult, and

the head of a woman, perhaps the Blessed Virgin, and the angel of the Annunciation. There is also a border pattern like that in the apse in the tomb of the martyrs in the basilica at Uppena now in the modern church at Enfidaville and on a piece of pavement on the walls of the museum at Sousse. I could not find the signs of the zodiac that are said to be there and have been taken to indicate that this building was not a church.

In the church a number of Corinthian capitals are lying about and in one of the chambers on the south side the carved stones figured in the preceding volume on plate 71. Among the objects represented are a cross in foliage, a chalice and fish and a pretty design of scrolls with whorls and rosettes.

The Fort

After the defeat of the Vandals, Justinian's generals converted the forum, containing the triumphal arch and the triple temple into a fort. This arch and temple are too well known to need description here. The north-west corner was made into a chapel and a little apse built out in the curtain wall. The general arrangement of the chapel can still be distinguished from the masonry and the footings, and among the fragments lying about is a stone capital of the Byzantine period with eagles at the four corners, illustrated as No. 25 on plate 69 in vol. i.

BEYOND SBEITLA

Since the opening of the railway from Sousse to Sfax there is a continuous line round the great plain of Central Tunis by Metlaui and Gafsa. Across the circle so formed a high road is being constructed from Sfax to Sbeitla in a north-westerly direction along the line of the modern aqueduct; this road will eventually open up a district full of Roman remains that has hardly been explored by archæologists.

After leaving the little rest house at Sbeitla the traveller who ventures further into the Interior must be prepared to rough it in the full sense of the word for there are no civilized

SBEITLA.

A mosaic pavement, from the West church; p. 108.

*Altar slab showing the reliquary in the centre and
holes for supports, p. 104; and oil presses at Henchir
Choud el Battal between Kasserine and Fériana.*

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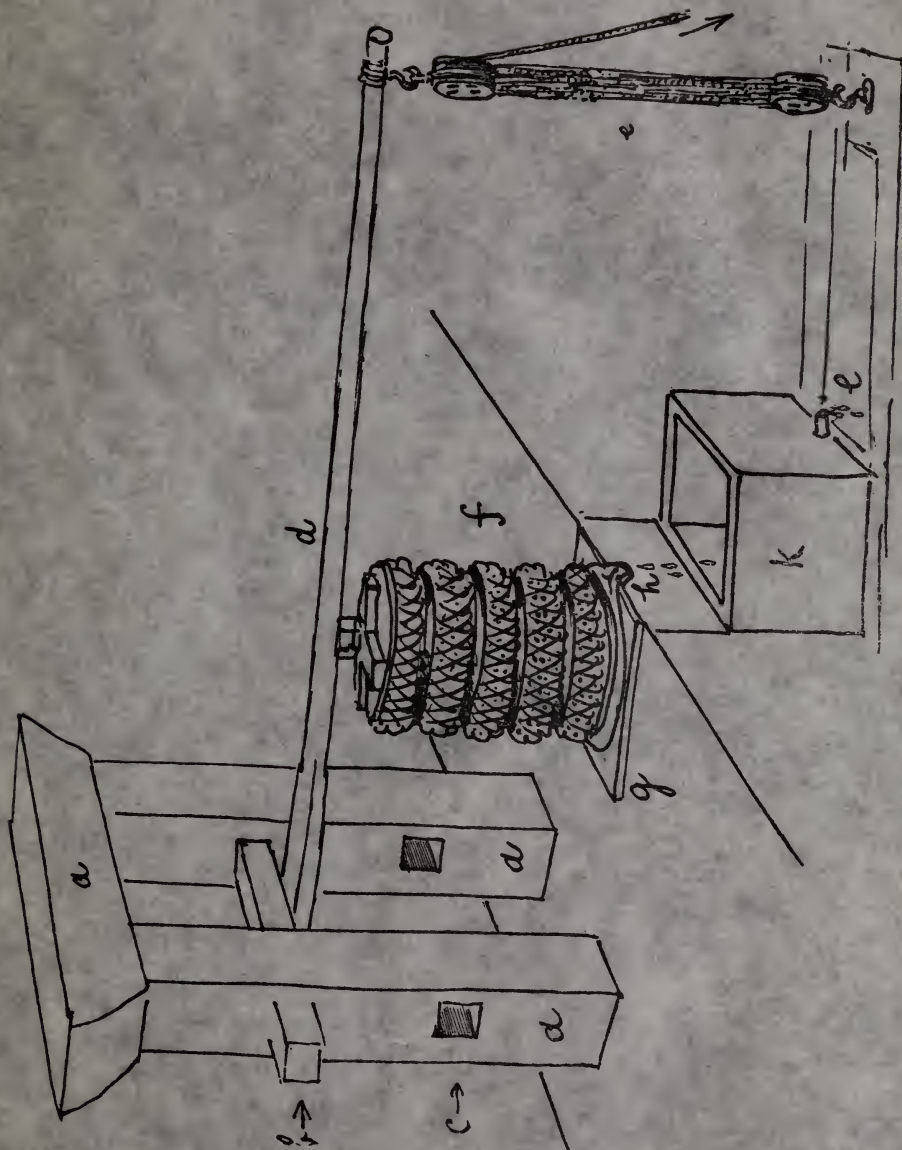
The Fort

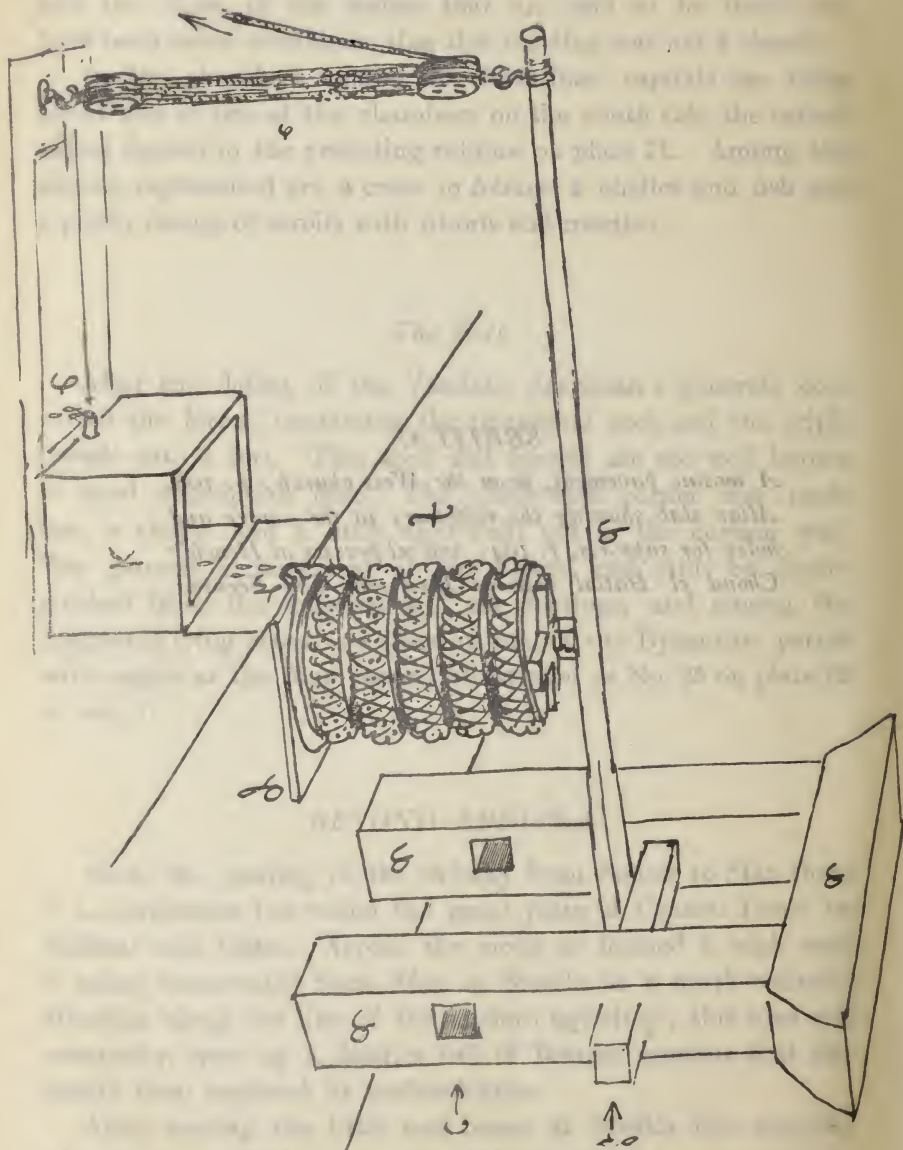
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Since the opening of the railway from Sousse to Sfax there is a continuous line round the great plain of Central Tunis by Metlaui and Gafsa. Across the circle so formed a high road is being constructed from Sfax to Sbeitla in a north-westerly direction along the line of the modern aqueduct; this road will eventually open up a district full of Roman remains that has hardly been explored by archaeologists.

After leaving the little rest house at Sbeitla the traveller who ventures further into the Interior must be prepared to rough it in the full sense of the word for there are no roads







resources, and food and drinking water have to be brought up from Sousse by the daily train for the railway staff and the few European colonists. The country, however, is inhabited by nomad Arabs who live in tents and wander about with their flocks from one pasture ground to another, and there is a large and prosperous native population all along the line. By day the monotonous landscape seems to be quite lifeless and deserted, and the passing traveller would hardly credit that there was a living soul about, but at sundown the whole country-side is illuminated with countless camp fires dotted about as far as the eye can reach.

From Sbeitla the line continues to rise very gradually for about twenty miles as far as Kasserine, another important Roman town commanding the Southern approach to Thala, Tebessa, and Northern Tunis.

The choice of position for Kasserine and many other Roman cities, like for example Thelepta, Henchir Gebeul, Haidra and indeed Sbeitla itself, is to be accounted for by the configuration of this country. The land lies in a series of plateaux or plains varying of course in size, but as a general rule from twenty to thirty miles long and ten to twelve broad. These plateaux commencing at the high level of Tebessa descend gradually like a series of steps to the plains of Kairouan at sea-level. In the upper plateaux there is a considerable rainfall and the rivers formed by it pass from one plateau to the other, from the higher level to the lower through small cañons or gorges, eventually losing themselves in the chotts or marshes about Kairouan and central Tunis; few if any of them reach the sea. As a rule the roads followed the river beds, and near the cañons, where the water could be easily dammed into reservoirs, the cities and larger towns were built. These cities formed a series of fortified out-posts linked up with the head-quarters of the Roman legion stationed at Tebessa, Timgad and Lambessa.

Kasserine

Nothing is known of the history of Kasserine as a Roman colony, but the name and rank are preserved to us from an inscription on the front of the principal gateway or triumphal

arch on the east side of the city. The other important remains are a barrage, a water tower, an early church and some tombs. Among the latter is the well-known monument to members of the family of Flavius Secundus. On this tomb there is the sententious and portentously long inscription in Latin hexameter verse reproduced by M. Guerin in his book.

The church was built of Roman materials and nothing remains of it but the west façade with two doors and the footings of the nave, chancel, and single apse. In front of the doors at the west end was a porch, and close to it are a monolith tympanum very roughly carved with birds and a vase or chalice. The interior has not been excavated. There were no side chapels, and the sanctuary is at the west end.

Kasserine station is about two miles east of the town and near it are the remains of several oil presses showing that in Roman times olive-trees were grown in this district. After leaving Kasserine station the line ascends on to the escarpment of the upper plateau and then continues for twenty miles on fairly level ground to Thelepta. The north side is bounded by the mountain range called the Chambi, and on the south by downs that separate the plateau from a large valley at a much lower level. From the maison cantonniere, about the eighth kilom. on the line, a path leads across the plateau in a southerly direction to the Dernaia Pass through these downs and so into the valley I have just mentioned. The path ends at a place called Haouch Khima Mta Darrouia, where there is an interesting early church discovered by M. Saladin.

HAOUCH KHIMA MTA DARROUIA

This is the name given to the site of a buried Roman city about 20 kilometres due south of Kasserine. It is situated in longitude 7° 5' E. and latitude 38° 55' N. The best way to visit it seems to be to sleep at a maison cantonniere on the railway half-way between the stations of Kasserine and Thelepta. It should be about four hours' ride from there across the mountains bounding the Kasserine-Thelepta plain on the south side.

It is a small but substantial building of large dressed stones.

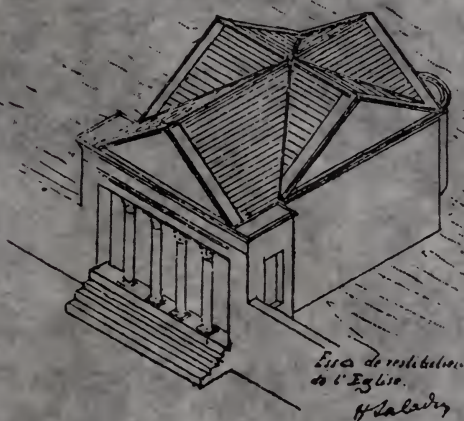
HAOUCH KHIMA.

Front and apse.

Photographs taken by the department of Antiquities :

Mons: Merlin.

Mons: Saladen's sketch of reconstructed chapel.

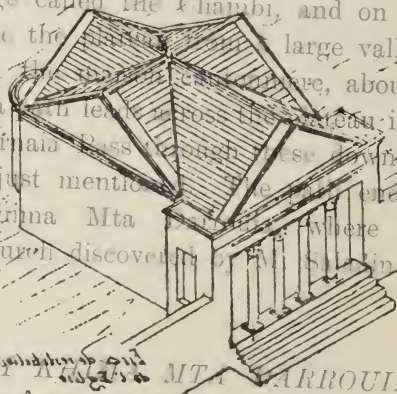


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Kasserine station is about 20 kilometres east of the town and near it are the remains of several Roman towns. That in Roman times olive-trees were common in this district. After leaving Kasserine station the line ascends on to the escarpment of the upper plateau, about twenty miles on fairly level ground to Thelepta. The north side is bounded by the mountain range called the Chambi, and on the south by downs that separate the plateau from a large valley at a much lower level. From Kasserine, about the eighth kilom. on the line, a road leads across the downs in a southerly direction to the Dénia Bassin, and from these downs and so into the valley I have just mentioned. At a place called Haouch Krima Mta where there is an interesting early church discovered in 1891.



HAOUCH KRIMA MTA. PARROUA

This is the name given to the site of a buried Roman city about 20 kilometres due south of Kasserine. It is situated in longitude 7° 5' E. and latitude 38° 85' N. The best way to visit it seems to be to sleep at a maison cantonnière on the railway half-way between the stations of Kasserine and Thelepta. It should be about four hours' ride from there across the mountains bounding the Kasserine-Thelepta plain on the south side.

It is a small but substantial building of large dressed stones.



The construction is altogether superior to that of any of the buildings I have been describing, except Tebessa. It consisted of a square nave covered by a cross vault, and a single semi-circular apse covered by a semi-dome, and a shallow narthex or porch with columns in front of it. The general appearance of the building can be best understood from M. Saladin's *essai de reconstruction*. It bears a strong resemblance on a larger scale to the upper part of the mausoleum at Haouch Taacha I have already referred to. It is obviously copied from a Roman building and, from the style of masonry and the resemblance to some of the chapels at Bin Bir Kilessi in Asia Minor, is probably one of the earliest Christian churches built in the North of Africa.

About three miles from the maison cantonniere along this path, and about half-way to the Dernaia Pass are the remains of a large agricultural establishment.* These remains consist of nine sets of upright stones, $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres high, arranged in pairs with a stone laid across the top of each pair. They originally occupied the centre of a large stone building of which the debris are lying about on the ground. In front of each pair on the south side is a little circular platform with a groove or gutter leading to a tank or reservoir. The purpose these stones were intended to serve can be best explained by reference to the accompanying rough sketch suggested by M. Saladin's drawing from which I have purposely omitted the minor details. There seems to be some doubt whether these presses were used for oil or wine, but the natives of to-day adopt much the same kind of plant for pressing oil, substituting a screw-jack worked by a long beam for the vertical pressure operated by means of ropes and pulleys. The strength of the plant suggest that oil, and not wine, was the produce treated. The purpose of these stones is, of course, obvious enough when the method of using them is explained, but it must be said, in defence of an eminent antiquary, that when seen at a distance an isolated pair does look remarkably like a prehistoric dolmen. Students of North African archæology may recollect that in 1897, a traveller set out to prove that some upright stones of this

* This seems to be the place visited by M. Saladin and described in his report under the name Henchir Choud el Battal.

kind were the horns of altars to which the 'sacrifice' was bound, the circular basin in front was the altar itself, and the gutter or groove was to carry away the sacrificial blood into the tank below.*

At present the neighbouring plateau is used for pasturage, and a little wheat is grown in places, but there would seem to be no great difficulty in replanting and maintaining olive-trees, for there is sufficient moisture to make a marsh and justify, as my guide explained, the name Garaat Krechem el Kelb † being applied to a small lake which is always wet.

Thelepta

The station at Thelepta is the only habitation on the site of one of the largest Roman cities in this part of Tunisia now represented by the modern village of Feriana about a mile further west on the southern escarpment of the plateau.

The principal ruins of Thelepta are the Roman baths containing two trefoil chambers made of brick, a group of four pillars with their consoles and the fragments of a large church in the citadel. There has been little or no excavation here, and the site offers one of the most promising fields for research.

The most important Roman remains here are those of the thermæ, a large brick edifice situated on the bank of the river and just above a small cañon where it has forced its way through the escarpment and so past Feriana into the valley below. These baths, of which I give a plan taken from M. Saladin's notes, and a photograph, are now in ruins. There are two details of interest in them. First, the trefoil apartments, and secondly the vaults which have been built on little tubes of pottery ‡ fixed in the cement. In one corner there is the spring of a cross vault built in this way and almost exactly like that of the chapel at El Gebioui. The size of these thermæ show that the city must have been large and important. At the

* *The Hill of the Graces*; a record of investigation among the trilithons and Megalithic sites of Tripoli. Published by Methuen, 1897.

† By interpretation 'the lake of the dog's nose.'

‡ A photograph of one of these tubes will be found on Plate 64 in vol. i.

AIN TOUNGA.

Castle and view of inside of a bastion showing method of construction.

HENCHIR GEBEUL.

*Details of a Roman building probably a bath,
with canopied niches.*

kind were the horns of altars to which the 'sacrifice' was brought; the circular basin in front was the altar itself, and the gutter or groove was to carry away the sacrificial blood into the tank below.*

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top of a little glen above them stands the citadel, a square enclosure of about six acres. At the west end stood the forum or chief public buildings, and at the east end the church.

The site of the church is undisturbed, and the shafts of the pillars still stand aslant at various angles in the débris of the roof, showing that the building was not demolished but merely abandoned and left to perish away. It was a basilica with a single apse facing east and a nave with aisles separated by a row of pillars with corinthian caps. The large number of mosaic tesserae lying about came probably from the roof of the apse. Beside this, no doubt, the principal church in the city, I found the footings of another and much smaller church with a single apse on the south side of the citadel.

Another interesting spot in the site of Thelepta are the stone quarries where the materials for constructing the city were obtained. These are situated just above the thermæ and near the river cañon I have just mentioned. The process of stone cutting can be seen in all its stages; finished and unfinished blocks are lying about; others still undetached have the wedge holes ready drilled for splitting them off the rock. This process was effected by boring holes and inserting dry wooden wedges that were afterwards made to expand by being soaked with water and so split the stone from the rock; the face of the quarries is covered with the marks of the workmen's tools.

Feriana is a little oasis village. In the public square a number of carved fragments were collected and put together by the officers stationed here while the line was in construction. The examples on Plate 71 of Volume I show that the native artists developed a style of their own in which the objects they represent are more naturally and less conventionally rendered than in the pagan models. The carving, of course, is not executed with the same mechanical precision but the result is a great improvement upon the stiff and lifeless work of the preceding period.

Henchir Gebeul

Henchir Gebeul is the Arab name for the site of an abandoned and ruined Roman city situated about twelve miles west of

Feriana. I gratefully record the kindness and hospitality of Dr. and Mme. Boricaud, of Feriana, who received us into their house, made us welcome, and enabled us to see Henchir Gebeul. We visited the place in company of the brigadier of gendarmes, a genial Corsican, who drove us across the steppe in a high two-wheeled dogcart. Archæology apart, the chief items of interest on our adventurous drive were supplied by the brigadier's grey charger, who made a first appearance in harness on this occasion.

The Roman name of this place is not known, nor are the circumstances or date of the foundation and ultimate destruction. The position shows that the city was built to guard one of the approaches leading from the desert up to Tebessa, and judging by the size of the public buildings, and the unusual care and skill bestowed on some of the capitals, consoles, and other carved fragments lying about, it must have been a place of no little importance. It is now a weird and ghostly place, and the stately ruins in this remote and forgotten spot are more impressive than any I have seen in the region. The dead silence was broken by pleasant shouts of welcome from a company of nomad Arabs who have taken possession of the ruins.

The principal building stands at right angles to the river-bed on the west bank. It consists now of two parallel walls of fine masonry that apparently represent the sides of a hall or nave. The lower parts of these walls are hidden in débris of the roof that has fallen in and covered the floor, but sufficient of the upper parts of them is left to show that they were decorated with a row of eight niches on each side. All that remains of the upper stage of the building are the piers, or pilasters, on each wall, and a close inspection of them shows that the nave roof was a barrel vault. On the outer sides of both walls and these pilasters there are indications that the nave was flanked by lateral aisles, and that they too were covered by barrel vaults. And that, I am afraid, is all that can be said about this odd building until the débris have been removed and the site excavated; the approximate dimensions will be seen by the little plan taken from M. Saladin's account of it.

M. Saladin was the first archæologist to visit this site, and he describes the ruins in his report to the Minister of Public Instruction made in 1882. He draws some comparison between

this 'hall' and the so-called stables at Haidra and Tebessa; but it seems more probable that the hall here was either a temple, a court of justice, or even a public bath. About 20 metres west of it are several Roman Corinthian capitals and some consoles of unusually good workmanship, executed in local stone; these probably belonged to a group of public buildings that we might expect to find in a forum or citadel.

The city covers a small area, but the importance of it should rather be judged by the excellence of the carved fragments lying about. No attempt has been made to excavate, and as there is no modern city for many miles around the materials have not been disturbed, but lie just where they fell as it would seem in some great earthquake.

The country to the north of this place and in the direction of Tebessa is full of Roman and Christian remains. But the district is so inaccessible, it is so hot in summer and so bitterly cold in winter, that it has remained almost entirely unexplored, and but for the police and government officials whose duty obliges them to visit it, the existence of these remains would be unknown.

EASTERN ALGERIA

TEBESSA

IN describing some of the smaller unknown churches in North Africa and Egypt, I have frequently referred to the monastery at Tebessa, especially to the basilican church and the trefoil chapel attached to it, because the approximate date of their construction is known, and being comparatively well preserved, so far as foundations and ground plan are concerned, they give some idea of the internal arrangements of a Christian church and memorial chapel in the Roman period of Church history between the reign of Constantine and the Vandal conquest of North Africa.

The monastery, however, has been so often and so well described by French archæologists that I shall not attempt to give a detailed survey of it here, or more than sufficient to enable the student, with the accompanying photographs and plans, to identify the various points referred to in the notes on the smaller churches and chapels elsewhere.

I may first remind him that Tebessa was one of the chief military stations and centres of Roman civilization in North Africa, and that all the great roads from Carthage and North and South Tunis to Timgad, Lambessa, and the Algerian plateau passed through it. It is evident from the age and importance of this monastery and the great basilican church that at a very early date Tebessa also became an important centre of Christianity.

It is an open question whether the material of the ruined fabric of the basilica as we now see it belongs to some pagan building, be it a court of justice, a temple, or other public edifice erected before the reign of Constantine. M. Gsell reckons it among the edifices du culte Chrétien, and it is difficult to under-

stand how any one acquainted with the usual arrangements of an African church could suppose that it was intended for anything but Christian worship. The original purpose the trefoil chapel was built to serve, be it secular or Christian, is not quite so clear, but it is certain that at an early date, and before the Vandal conquest, it was used for Christian burial.

The monastery stands a short distance from Tebessa and near the high road leading to Haidra and El Kef. This road leaves the city by the East gate and passes under a Roman triumphal arch dedicated to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Julia Domna in the third century. It was restored during the Byzantine occupation, and contains an early example of a squinch made of small stones built at that time to support the roof.*

The buildings and surrounding grounds of the monastery were enclosed in a high curtain wall strengthened at intervals by square bastions on the inner side; according to some archaeologists this peculiarity indicates that the wall was built before the Byzantine conquest.

The basilica stands in the centre of this enclosure. On the west or front side of it there is a great square court with indications of a paved cloister round it. On the south side of the basilica are the trefoil chapel, a baptistery, and small church of the Byzantine period. The so-called stables stand in the north-west corner of the enclosure and bound the great square court on the north side. Round the walls of the basilica on the north, east, and part of the south sides, are a number of rooms built of large blocks of stone supposed to be cells of the monastery and built subsequently to the basilica itself.

Passing from the El Kef road through the main entrance of the curtain wall, a fine gate of which only the arch remains, we enter the court by a paved avenue.

Standing in the middle of the court and facing east, we obtain the first view of the basilica, taken by my father. This faces directly on to the west front of the basilica, showing the steps in front and the nave and the central apse

* See *Gsell*, vol. i. p. 183. According to M. Gsell this squinch supported a dome and is of the same date as the arch itself. Examples of domed gates occur at Tripoli and Latakia in Syria. I venture to differ as to the age of the squinch, and attribute it to the Byzantine restoration in Justinian's reign.

in the distance. The massive vaulted roof in the distance on the right side of the basilica belongs to the trefoil chapel.

Before walking up the steps into the church, the visitor will notice a row of stone posts with grooved sides shown in the foreground of the pictures, and also two structural peculiarities in the construction of the church.

These posts mark the border of the court and a broad paved avenue that led from the entrance gate along the front of the basilica. They were joined by panels fitted into the side grooves, and so formed a continuous balustrade. The same kind of post to support the altar screen will be seen inside the basilica, and was commonly used for that purpose in North African churches. These posts were often provided with fircone or acorn-shaped tops, and some in use may be seen in the choir of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo.

The first structural peculiarity I have referred to can be seen in the photograph. It will be noticed that the floor of the basilica is raised some three metres above the ground level. This substructure appears, from excavations made in search of tombs and treasure, to be quite solid, and must have involved an immense amount of labour and material. This device of raising a building on a platform was commonly adopted by pagan architects, but it is not usually found in North African churches. All the other buildings of the monastery including, oddly enough, the trefoil chapel, are built on the ground level.

The second peculiarity is not seen in the photograph, and is not noticeable on the spot, but the measured plan shows that the front of the basilica and the balustered front of the forecourt are not in alignment. It has been argued from this that the court and the basilica were built at different times.

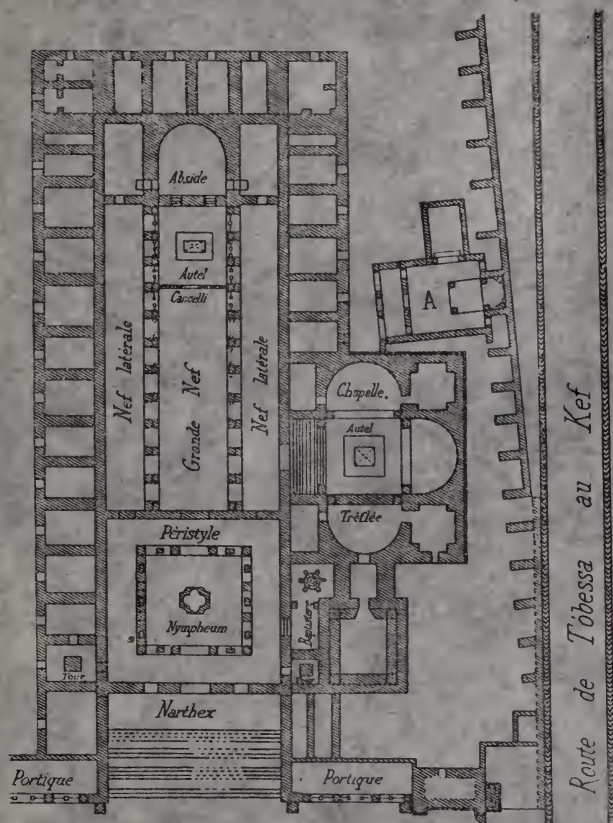
We now pass from the court into the church by fourteen steps about 20 metres broad, and arranged in three flights. The row of rough stones at the top marks the foundation of a porch or narthex flanked by two towers that formed the west façade. Nothing of this now remains but the bases of a few pillars and some of the Roman Corinthian capitals.

Passing through the porch we enter the square atrium or forecourt with a water stoup in the middle of it, and Roman pillars taken from some older building.

BASILICA OF TEBESSA.

Fore Court and steps; and Atrium and font.

Consoles.



Plan (M. Duprat)

EE in the distance. The massive vaulted roof in the distance on the right side of the luncheon belongs to the trefoil chapel.

Before walking up the steps into the church, the visitor will notice a row of stone posts with grooved sides shown in the foreground of the pictures, and also two structural peculiarities in the construction of the church.

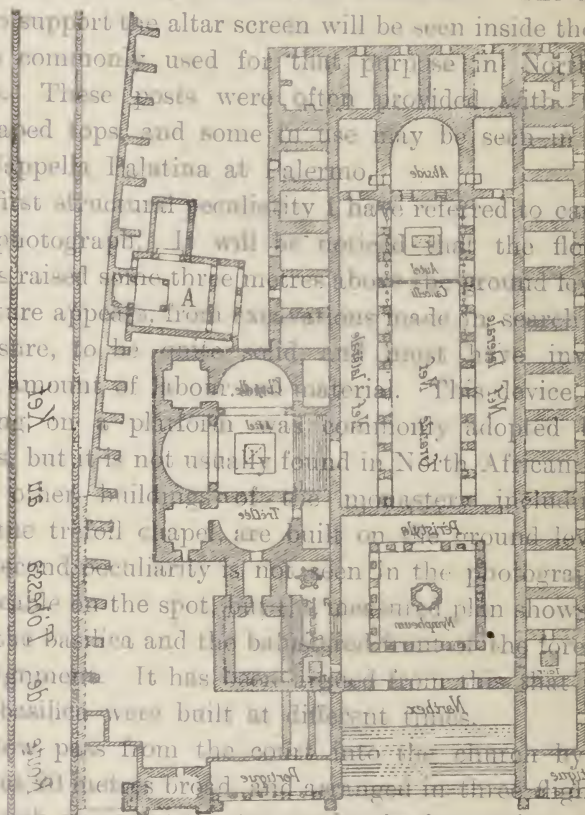
These posts mark the border of the court and a broad paved
avenue that led from the entrance gate along the front of the
basilica. They were joined by panels fitted into the side
grooves, and so formed a continuous balustrade. The same kind
of post to support the altar screen will be seen inside the basilica,
and was commonly used for that purpose in other African
churches. These posts were often provided with fircone or
horn-shaped tops, and some of these may be seen in the choir
of the Capella Palatina at Palermo.

The first architectural peculiarity I have referred to can be seen in the photograph. I will also note that the floor of the apse is raised some three metres above the ground level. This substructure appears to be a platform made in search of tombs and treasure, to be used for the burial of the dead. It involved an immense amount of labour and material. The device of raising a building on a platform was commonly adopted by pagan architects, but it is not usually found in North African churches. All the other buildings of the monastery, including, oddly enough, the three chapels, are built on ground level.

The second peculiarity is not seen in the photograph, and is not noticed on the spot. The plan shows that the front of the stupa and the back of the court are not in alignment. It has been suggested that the court and the stupa were built at different periods.

We walk past from the castle into the church by fourteen steps above the level of the road which is paved with three courses of rough stones at the top marks the foundation of a porch or narthex flanked by two towers. What formed the west façade. Nothing of this now remains but the bases of a few pillars and some of the Roman Corinthian capitals.

Passing through the porch we enter the square atrium
 forecourt with a water stoup in the middle of it, and Roman
 pillars taken from some older building.





The stoup stood in the centre or open part of the court, and was covered by a canopy resting on four pillars; these have disappeared, but their bases still remain in the bevelled recesses at the four outer corners of the stoup. The basin inside was scooped out into four lobes, giving it a cross shape. These atria are common enough in Christian churches, and there is nothing unusual or remarkable in this one, but it has been suggested that as the adjoining baptistery appears to be of much later date, possibly not older than the Byzantine occupation, this stoup may have been used as a font for much the same ceremony as the Coptic Epiphany tanks were originally built to accommodate.

A door leads from the atrium into the baptistery, and it was made after the wall was built showing that the baptistery is an addition. Three steps lead down from the floor of the atrium into the baptistery, so that the latter is considerably higher than the ground level, and consequently of the floor of the trefoil chapel. The baptistery is divided into two parts, an outer hall or narthex, and the baptistery proper with a round font sunk in the middle of the floor. The latter was covered by a canopy supported on pillars resting on stones taken from a classical building. The font itself consists of a shallow circular pit, built in three stages of equal depth and decreasing diameter, so as to form steps from the floor into the cuvette. The same pattern will be found in the font of a small church at Timgad, and in the great basilica at Timgad an octagonal font is built much in the same way; but the pattern was not very common.

From the atrium three doors lead into the church, the main door into the nave and the side doors from the peristyle of the court into the aisles. The next picture (my father's) is taken looking east from the main door along the nave and into the apse. The church is divided as usual into three parts, the nave, the two side aisles, and the sanctuary represented by a semi-circular apse and a prothesis and diaconicon on the north and south sides.

The masonry is composed uniformly of large well cut blocks of local stone. The interesting point to notice in it are the numerous and varied mason's marks; they occur chiefly in the church, but some will also be found in the trefoil chapel and

in the avenue at the west front. I have not come across similar marks in Tunis or even at Haidra near by, but probably they exist, and they are certainly well worth careful study. Some of them, at any rate, appear to be Berber characters.* Numerous capitals of the Roman Corinthian variety are lying about, and on the north wall there are several carved brackets that appear to have supported the gallery in the aisles; among them is a pretty design with dolphins that I did not see elsewhere in this district or in Tunis.

The floor of the nave was covered with mosaic, and the eastern part of it was shut off by a screen to enclose the altar. The view shows a piece of the apse, the steps leading up to it, and the door of the chapel of the prothesis. The French engineers have restored a piece of the north colonnade of the nave, including the bases of the upper row of pillars in front of the gallery or triforium. The style is purely Roman.

In the foreground is one of the grooved posts to hold the screen I have already referred to. These screens were probably made of stone or marble open work,† and fitted into the grooves of the posts and also into the bases of the pillars between the nave and aisles. There is also some indication that part of the south aisle was shut off from the nave in the same way. The altar stood in the centre of the nave halfway between the little post and the apse, but only the foundations can now be seen.

According to the usual practice of North African church architects the semi-circular apse and adjacent chambers or chapels were all enclosed in a square wall, so that the apse does not project and is not visible from the exterior. The occurrence of side chapels to the apse, the predecessors of the Byzantine prothesis and diaconicon, came as a surprise to me in a building of this early date. These side chapels are frequently found in North Africa. Sometimes there is one, and sometimes two; some communicate directly with the central apse, and some do not. No general deductions can be made from these

* Publications of the Archaeological Society of Constantine, vol. ix. 3rd series (vol. xxx. of the collection), 1897; and vol. i. 3rd series (vol. xxii. of the collection), 1883. See also my drawings in the preceding volume on the flysheet to Plate 56.

† As in a panel in the Alexandria Museum.

BASILICA OF TEBESSA.

Nave, looking into the chancel.

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† As in a pond in the Alexandria Museum.



peculiarities as to the service or purpose they were intended to accommodate. The substantial and important fact from the ritual point of view is that they should be found in this early building. It does not necessarily follow that they were intended or used for any ritual purpose, or for anything more than practical convenience; but it seems reasonable to suppose that they are the predecessors of the side chapels that became essential for the due performance of a part of the later Byzantine Communion Service, and I hazard the conjecture that that part was founded upon some early and common practice in these African churches.

The floor of the apse is raised about half of a metre above the floor of the nave, while the floors of the chapels are level with it. This elevation was negotiated by four flights of two steps, one flight in each chapel and one flight on each side of the apse. An arrangement of steps like this is not uncommon, and several examples will be found, as for instance, at Dougga and in the so-called basilica of Justinian at Carthage, to name two of many examples. The student of Church architecture will be reminded of the same sort of arrangement in the great screens in S. Paul's and at Winchester Cathedral, and the purpose they were intended to serve at the consecration of a bishop according to the Sarum use.

In the middle of the apse floor, and against the wall, are the foundations of what was probably the bishop's throne, but this and the seats for the clergy have disappeared. The arrangement of seats for the clergy round the wall of the apse was common in these provinces, in Egypt, and in Nubia. It is also found in Rome, at Torcello, and in S. Eirene at Constantinople.

It has often occurred to me to wonder whether the open space between the altar and the steps leading up to the apse was screened off by an open screen like that in S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, or in S. Mark's at Venice. The remains of the Tunis churches I have seen afford no evidence upon this point.

To reach the trefoil chapel we have to return into the nave, and then into the south aisle of the church. A wide opening in the south wall opposite to the second and third bays from the west end of the nave leads to a broad flight of twelve steps.

By these steps we descend three metres from the floor level of the basilica to that of the trefoil chapel.

The reader should now refer to the illustrations and plans on Plates 54, 55, and 56 of the preceding volume.

The pictures of the chapel at El Gebioui and the similar chapel at Maatria show how the central square chamber was roofed by a cross vault and the apses with semi-domes; these were no doubt made of brick in the usual way, and traces of the mosaic they were covered with were found by M. Clarinval. The two cippolino pillars at the entrance of each of the apses were intended to support the arch of the apse in the same way that those at Haidra supported the chancel arch. The masonry of the chapel throughout is of large blocks of local stone, carefully cut and fitted in the same long and short work as those in the basilica itself.

The floor deserves more careful notice, and here I must refer to the reports of MM. Seriziat and Clarinval, by whom it was excavated. The former, describing his exploration in 1868, says * that the work of clearing away the rubbish from the trefoil was not sufficiently far advanced for him to report more than the discovery of a large sarcophagus that he had transported to Tebessa. Two years later M. Commandant Clarinval, describing his work, says: † ‘Two years ago M. Seriziat commenced to clear away the rubbish that filled the trefoil, and found near the staircase a large white marble sarcophagus.’ I need not describe this object. It is a Christian work of early date, and roughly executed. M. Clarinval employed a soldier artist to draw it, and it is reproduced in the proceedings of the Constantine Archæological Society with his notes.

‘In continuing the clearing we uncovered a staircase of twelve steps and the mutilated remains of the sarcophagus hidden in the debris. We found the floor was decorated with mosaics that have disappeared except in the east apse. Eight columns of green marble stood in pairs at the entrance of each apse, and

* Publication of the Archæological Society of Constantine, vol. ii. 2nd series (vol. xii. of the collection), 1868.

† Id., vol. iv. 2nd series (vol. xiv. of the collection), 1870.

the walls were veneered with marble. Towards the bottom of the debris were layers of charred wood mixed up with tiles and mosaics from the roof, showing that the building had been destroyed by fire.'

Then follows his description of the discovery of the boy's tomb that I have already described and illustrated in the preceding volume. 'In the course of excavating this tomb I discovered an ancient floor covered with mosaic at 1 m. 20 c. below the present floor level. In the middle of the chapel two large slabs seemed to indicate the presence of an altar, and as the ground sounded hollow I had an excavation made at this spot. A square hole was found beneath filled with rubbish, and at 1 m. 20 c. the ancient floor covered with mosaic was again found; immediately below it in some cinder rubbish was a tombal stone covering two funeral urns, a lamp, and a little pot. Two sides of the hole were made of blocks similar to those used in building the basilica, while the side (on the plan) is made of small stones. . . . The excavations at the foot of the staircase showed that the steps rested on no foundations, and again brought to light the ancient mosaic 1 m. 20 c. below the present level.'

The rest of the report relates to the excavations of the adjoining chambers, and these are referred to presently.

M. Duprat's account* of the trefoil chapel and the digging is taken from these reports, and includes the discovery of the mosaic and jewelled panel. This was first taken to the modern French church at Tebessa, subsequently moved to the museum, and eventually stolen from there.

M. Gsell's account supplies some further particulars. After recapitulating what has been said above he proceeds: 'The floor of the central apse was covered with mosaic representing intertwined vine branches issuing from chalices; the mosaic floor of the left hand apse had round and lozenge patterns and the 'gamma' cross; the right hand apse had a design of birds with a stag in the centre. The roof was covered with mosaic cubes made of glass that were found in the rubbish. Four little pillars carved with vines, fish, &c., that probably belonged to an altar, were also found near by.'

* Id., vol. ix. 3rd series (vol. xxx. of the collection), 1897.

In the right and left apses, doors led to the adjoining chambers in the four angles of the square. They, too, had mosaic floors. Those on the south side had massive barrel vaults, one of which can be seen in the pictures; those on either side of the stairs had an upper story supported on a cross vault, of which fragments made of a soft stone are still visible in the angles of the walls. There is a conflict of evidence concerning the construction of the two last-mentioned chambers. M. Gsell says that the outer walls were detached from the wall of the basilica, whereas those next the stairs were built into it, and he argues from this that the chapel and the basilica are of the same date. I hesitate to differ from him on a question of fact, but my observation agrees with that of M. Clarinval, and to me it seemed that all these walls were applied and not built into the wall of the basilica.

There remain the rectangular chambers at the west side of the trefoil chapel, and the access to these was by a door cut in the centre of the western apse. The first and smaller chamber was apparently only a vestibule leading to a larger and more important square hall beyond. M. Duprat identifies this as the treasury of the monastery. Whether that is so or not, the excavations made in 1869 and 1870 by M. Seriziat show that it was used for burial. Four mosaic tombs were found; they were of Bishop Palladius, probably the prelate of that name who suffered in the reign of Hunneric the Vandal king, Petronius, Quodvultdeus, and Marcella, a little girl three years old. The remains of the bishop were found resting on a bed of laurel leaves, and also those of the little girl, whose hair was fair. As in the trefoil chapel itself, so here, the original Roman floor was found at 1 m. 20 c. below the surface of these mosaic tombs.

The little basilican church on the south side of the trefoil chapel is a building of much later date, and probably belongs to the period of the Byzantine occupation when the great church had been destroyed. It is made of old materials, and the altar stood out in the middle of the church.

According to M. Duprat both the basilica and the trefoil chapel were secular Roman buildings, the former a court of

justice, and the latter a bath. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this opinion so far as the trefoil is concerned. M. Seriziat's excavation shows that there was an original building on the present site, with a mosaic floor in the common Roman style of decoration, in which, so far as I know, nothing distinctively Christian was found; it may also be said that the eight cippolino columns were imported by the Romans before the Christian period, and they were apparently made to fit this building. I have also pointed out in the introduction that this trefoil plan was certainly in common use for the laconica of public baths.* But, on the other hand, it must be said that the adaptation by the Christians of a plan suitable for a bath to a baptistery would be reasonable and probable enough, and it is also certain that from very early times this trefoil plan was used for the sanctuary of a church or the cella memoria or funerary chapel.† M. Ballu is of opinion that the trefoil was a funerary chapel, but the tombs found there, which, as I have shown, are of later date, are the least strong evidence in support of it, for, as the floor level shows, they are certainly more recent than the rest of the fabric.

The conclusion that I have come to is that this trefoil plan was used as well for a church as for a tombal chapel or a baptistery, and that the Christians derived it from some building at Jerusalem then existing but now destroyed, that was traditionally associated with our Lord's ministry, much in the same way that in building the round churches‡ the Crusaders conceived they were copying the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

With the exception of the so-called stables, the other buildings in the enclosure of the monastery, though of interest in themselves, and as associated with this site, afford no useful material for comparison with buildings elsewhere.

The stables are one of the archæological puzzles of Algeria, and as another similar building exists at Haidra I have described the two together in a short account of the principal Christian remains of that city.

* As at Lambessa and Thelepta.

† As in the churches at Sohag and in the cemetery of S. Callixtus at Rome.

‡ I refer to the London Temple church, Northampton, Cambridge, and Little Maplestead in Essex.

There are many other archæological remains of great interest in and about Tebessa itself ; and, foremost among them, the walls of the modern town. These were built by Justinian's generals, and are still almost as perfect as the day they were erected. The little museum was a Roman temple also in very fair preservation, and it contains a number of classical and Byzantine fragments collected in the neighbourhood.*

TIMGAD

The little church illustrated on the plate opposite is situated in the northern quarter of the city and, as the foundations extend across one of the Roman streets, it was presumably built either during the Vandal occupation or after the Byzantine conquest. The church lies east and west and is of the usual simple plan ; there is first a little porch at the west end leading to an atrium or forecourt ; from this atrium three doors lead into the church beyond. The plan is basilican, with nave, side aisles, a semi-circular central apse at the east end, and a chamber on each side of it corresponding to the prothesis and diaconicon ; as usual in African churches these were contained in a square outer wall. The outer walls are made of large upright stones, probably taken from a Roman building. They are placed at intervals of eight to ten feet, the intervening space being filled with rubble and smaller stones. A square court on the north of the atrium contains the baptistery. The pillars in the nave have monolith shafts of stone and stone capitals carved in the usual early Roman Corinthian pattern ; these also probably came from a Roman building. The two points of interest in this church are, first, the double wall of the apse ; this either represents an ambulatory, a place for burial, or perhaps an arrangement for the seats of the clergy, similar to that seen in the apse at Announa ; and secondly, the circular font built almost exactly like the example in the basilica at Tebessa. The baptistery was a covered cloister of the same kind as that adjoining the so-called basilica of Justinian at Carthage and the basilica at Sbeitla. M. Gsell describes and gives a plan of this church, but apparently it had not been completely excavated when he saw it.

* A tombstone from here is illustrated with others from Guelma on p. 130.

The great basilica of Timgad stood outside the west wall of the city, but it has been completely razed to the ground, and all that remains of it are the floor, small pieces of the walls, and a few shafts and capitals of pillars. At the north end stood the baptistery, now completely gutted, but containing the very beautiful mosaic font that has fortunately been preserved. The only two architectural details in this basilica that need mention are, first, the absence of chapels of the prothesis and diaconicon on each side of the main apse; secondly, the rectangular chapel terminating in a semicircular apse placed at right angles to the nave on the north-east side corresponding to the cella trichora at Tebessa. The same kind of large chapel, for that is what it no doubt was, also occurs in the so-called basilica of Justinian at Carthage and in the other large basilica on the north side of Timgad. There is no indication in any of these buildings of the liturgical purpose this chapel was intended to serve, but it probably had some importance,* for the same kind of apsed chamber at right angles to a nave will be found in the majority of Tunisian churches and in some of the Christian tombs in the cemetery of Khargeh in Egypt.

There are one or two other churches in or near Timgad, and a reputed chapel in the Byzantine fort on the south side of the city, but they present no features of particular interest for purposes of comparison with churches elsewhere.

ANNOUNA

The city of Announa, the ancient Thibilis, is situated in the hills about six miles south-west of the famous hot springs of Hammam Meskoutine. It was close to the high road leading from Bone to Lambessa and other cities on the Algerian plateau, and from the extent of the remains was obviously a place of considerable importance both in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The basilica is one of the few churches in Algeria and Tunis of which a considerable part remains above ground. It is situated at the end of a main street, in a prominent position at the foot of

* *Les Ruines de Timgad*, A. Ballu, 1911, p. 38. I had not seen this book when these notes were written.

a little hill that may have been occupied by a pagan temple. The old materials taken from a Roman building and the form of a cross over the main door $\div$ P combined with A and ∇ depending from the arms show that it was built by the Byzantines. There is some indication from the appearance of the debris, and shafts of pillars and caps that are lying about, that the city was destroyed in an earthquake.

The façade, as the picture shows, is almost perfect. It was pierced by the main door and a square window on each side. A single stone over the door was relieved by a discharging arch above. On the latter is a large Greek cross with A and ∇ depending from the arms. The general view is taken from above the apse, seen in the foreground, and the nave and the inside of the façade are in the distance beyond. The side and front views of the apse are taken from the nave. The latter shows a block of stone in the centre that formed the foundation of the bishop's throne, and the bases of two detached pillars to support the apse arch. The arrangement of the seats for the clergy, built in tiers in the apse, may explain the peculiar construction of the apses seen in the small church at Tingad, in the large basilica at Sbeitla, and at Dougga. The front seats are ranged in a quarter circle, while those behind are in a semicircle. This is one of the few African churches where there are no side chapels for prothesis and diaconicon, and the aisles terminate in square walls abutting on to the hill side.

These pictures also show the style of building walls with large upright stones and rubble of smaller stones, so commonly found in all the Byzantine buildings in these countries. The inside walls were covered with cement, and either painted or, in the richer churches, veneered with marble.

Passing now to the nave, the font and several capitals of white marble of the usual late Roman and Corinthian variety are seen lying about; the carving on some of the pillars is unfinished. On the pilasters in the east wall are two square caps in the same style that appear to have been taken from some Roman building. The general view of the interior taken from above the apse shows the common division of the nave. It was divided from the aisles by pillars on each side supporting a timber and tile roof. The aisles and the spaces between the pillars were paved with flagstones and

the nave proper with mosaic. This mosaic was usually arranged in two patterns; a more elaborate design being reserved for the sanctuary and a simpler one for the gangways and adjacent spaces. In this church a line of stones across the first bay of the nave marks the break in the pavement, and the altar, of which there is no trace, stood just beyond it, leaving, as usual, a considerable space between the clergy seats in the apse and the altar. There is no indication that this space was used for any particular purpose, but it formed an open gangway and permitted of a perambulation of the altar and a passage from one aisle to the other. This arrangement is usual in African churches.

The ruins of this city are very interesting for, like those at Tingad, they show just how the Roman town was laid out and how the Byzantines rebuilt the city and the houses over the Roman streets. Among the earlier ruins are the remains of a triumphal arch and some large edifice, probably the forum; there is also the ruin of a little chapel with a single apse.

GUELMA

The site of the Roman city at Guelma is now occupied by a busy and thriving French colonial market town; consequently nearly all the ancient buildings have vanished. There are, however, a fine theatre and the thermæ; the latter are now enclosed in the French barrack square.

Some tombstones preserved in the little public garden of the French quarter of the town deserve more than a passing notice.

The first was made presumably for a pagan, as the following legend is in the usual Roman form, and there is no cross or sacred monogram about it.

D.M.S. | JVLIVS . FAVS | TVS . PIVS . VISIT |
ANIS . LXV . SE | D . VIXSIT. BEN | E | H.E.S.

This legend is cut in poor shaped and irregular characters surrounded by a single circle line; the small diagonal cuts on this circle show that it is intended to represent a wreath of foliage. Two saucer-shaped depressions on the dexter side and a third on the sinister represent the utensils or receptacles to contain food

provided for the use of the departed in the nether world ;* the object on the sinister side is apparently intended to represent a kind of saucepan with a handle to it. The rest of the surface of the stone is incised with rude representations of leaves and flowers, and perhaps two cornucopia. The stone above it, of which only the lower half is visible in the photograph, is also a pagan tombstone ; in the lower corners are rude carvings of drinking cups.

2. The inscription on the next stone is unfortunately too much damaged to be legible in my photograph ; it begins with the P^* AM, showing that the person interred was a Christian, and the same kind of saucer incisions occur in two of the corners. On the other sides are a sprig of foliage and a jug ; the small sketch book at the side shows the size of the slab.

3. The next inscriptions are on stones that have now been placed one above the other. On the upper stone the legend is D.M.S. P^* JVLMECCENT | IN PACE FIDELIS | VIXIT ANNIS LXXII | HSE. This inscription is contained in a ring or conventional wreath and in the 'field' are a number of small rubrics including a star cross in a circle ; the same kind of saucer-like depressions are cut in the surface of the stone at the sides.

4. The inscription on the stone below reads :— P^* FLAVIVS. AVEN | TIVS | FIDELIS IN PACE | VIXIT ANNIS | . . . HSE. This legend is in a plain incised ring, and at the side of it are the usual saucer-like depressions.

The effigies of utensils on the tombstones suggest to me that the Christians in the earliest times, and whilst the old faith survived, purchased the ready-made slabs stocked for pagan use. The case bears, perhaps, some analogy to that of the silver 'pot-house' tankards so frequently found in collections of Church Communion plate. These ready-made tankards were purchased by the parishes after the Reformation in compliance with the injunctions of King James I ordering the churchwardens to procure 'stoups' of metal to hold the communion wine. The parishes then went to the 'trade' and purchased the most suitable ready-made article with the whistle in the tail of the handle. This whistle was used to call the pot-boy with when the flagon was empty and needed refilling.

* Cf. a slab in the narthex at Sta Sabina in Rome.

Early christian tombstones at Guelma
(Nos. 2 and 4 on p. 130)
and at Tebessa museum, p. 131.

provided for the use of the departed in the nether world. The object on the opposite side is apparently intended to represent a kind of sauceron with a handle to it. The rest of the surface of the same is incised with rude representations of leaves and flowers and perhaps two cornucopia. The stone above it, of which only the lower half is visible in the photograph, is also a pagan tombstone; in the lower corners are rude carvings of drinking cups.

2. The inscription on the next stone is unfortunately too much damaged to be legible in my photograph; it begins with the *g* *ab*, showing that the person interred was a Christian, and the same kind of saucer incisions occur in two of the corners. On the other sides are a sprig of foliage and a jug; the small sketch book at the side shows the size of the slab.

3. The next inscriptions are on stones that have now been placed one above the other. On the upper stone the legend is *ANNO* *P* *IVL* *IN* *FACT* *PIELAS* | *VIXIT* *ANNIS* *LXXII* | *HSE*. This inscription is contained in a ring or conventional wreath and in the 'field' are a number of small rubrics including a star cross in a circle; the same kind of saucer-like depressions are cut in the surface of the stone at the sides.

4. The inscription on the stone below reads:— *P* *FLAVIVS* *AVIV* | *IVS* | *PIELAS* *PIELAS* | *VIXIT* *ANNIS* | . . . *HSE*. This legend is in a plain incised ring, and at the side of it are the usual saucer-like depressions.

The effigies of utensils on the tombstones suggest to me that the Christians in the earliest times, and whilst the old faith survived, purchased the ready-made slabs stocked for pagan use. The case bears, perhaps, some analogy to that of the silver 'pot-house' tankards so frequently found in collections of Church Constantinian plate. These ready-made tankards were purchased by the parishes after the Reformation in compliance with the injunctions of King James I ordering the churchwardens to procure 'cups' of metal to hold the communion wine. The parishes then went to the 'trade' and purchased the most suitable ready-made article with the whistle in the tail of the handle. This whistle was used to call the pot-boy with whom the flagon was empty and needed refilling.

* This was in the corner at St. Paulus in Rome.



The next inscription is on a tombstone preserved in the Museum at Tebessa. The legends are: in the field, dexter side, SĀI | BI | N | CE | N | TI | MAR | TIRIS; partly obliterated above is, ORI | A | . On the top and sinister side + ARCAN-
 GELV | S MIKA | EL ET | GAB | RIE | L | SĀE | CRI | SPI | NE |
 MAR | TIRI | S. In the ring round the P_{ω} , + POSITA AD MO
 PATRE FAVSTINO EPISCOPO VRBIS TEBESTINAE SUB DIE | V
 ID VS AB INC CNT XIII; on the base of the tablet MEMORIA
 SANCTÆ MAXIM | ATILLÆ ET SECVNDÆ

WESTERN TUNIS

HAIDRA

THE Roman name of this great city was Ammadæra, and the ruins, that owe their wonderful preservation to the isolated position, are among the best preserved and the most important in Tunis. I say Tunis, but in point of fact, the custom house for the frontier between Tunis and Algeria actually stands in the centre of the city. The ruins are well worth visiting, but unfortunately, as difficult of access by the phosphate railway from Tunis to Kalaa Djerda, as by an apology for a road from Tebessa.

The Roman city was first ruined either by the Vandals or more probably by the native Berbers, and when the Byzantines came upon the scene they made use of the old materials to build a large fort enclosed in a curtain wall, and a number of churches. By far the most important of the Byzantine remains is this fort which commanded the high road from Carthage to Tebessa. Beside this military structure the great gate or triumphal arch of the Roman city, erected in honour of the Emperor Septimius Severus, was walled up with Roman masonry and converted into a block house.

The three buildings described in these notes are the Byzantine chapel in the fort, a large basilican church of the early Christian period lying to the north-west of the fort, and a group of buildings said to be a monastery that contains a large hall described by some antiquaries as a church, and by others as a stable. A similar edifice will be found in the enclosure of the great basilica at Tebessa. I saw three other small churches, one close to the south-west angle of the fort and the other two near the block house I have just mentioned. These little churches

were plain basilicas with single apses, and the best preserved * had a porch in front of the main west door and was built up on a plinth in which I noticed some hexagonal Roman tombstones or funeral stelæ.

The Church

The great basilican church situated about two hundred yards north-west of the fort was a large building consisting of a nave separated from lateral aisles by a row of granite pillars about 4 met : 16 c. long with stone caps in the Corinthian style. The sanctuary at the west end has a semi-circular apse and at least one adjacent chamber. At the east end there was a narthex and a façade flanked by two towers.

As usual, the sanctuary is the interesting part of this church. The walls of the semi-circular apse and of the prothesis marked A on the plan, still stand about two metres above ground, and are made of well-cut stones taken from an older building. The diaconicon on the north side has disappeared, if indeed it ever existed. It is probable that the sanctuary of the church was enclosed in a square outer wall as usual in Africa and that there was an ambulatory between the outside wall, of which the base only remains, and the apse itself. This arrangement is as unusual in Africa as that of an apse projecting in a semi-circle beyond the outside wall.

The picture shows the apse taken from the south-west corner, standing on the plinth or base of the square outer wall that enclosed it. The space between the corner in the foreground and the apse was occupied by the chapel of the prothesis; this little apartment communicated with the sanctuary by a door (on the left) seen in the break of the masonry, and by another door (on the right) into the south aisle. The bolt catch on the pilaster of the door leading to the south aisle can be seen in the picture.

Chapel in the Fort

The garrison chapel at Haidra abuts on the middle of the west wall of the Byzantine fort. This great enclosure of about ten acres is surrounded by a high wall with bastions at the

* A plan will be found on the fly-sheet.

corners and at intervals along the sides. The chapel stands at right angles to the wall, and the chancel is built up against one of the bastions. It seems to have been a little basilica with nave and aisles and a single apse. The site has not been excavated and the debris lie where they fell. The base of a tower at the angle, a portion of a pilaster, and the spring of one of the nave arches all on the north side, alone remain. The lower part of the apse, built against the bastion, has been preserved up to the spring of the semi-dome that covered it. The chancel arch was supported by two cippolino columns, one on either side. A few stones of the arch remain resting on the abacus of the pillar. The abacus, if I may for convenience use the term, was decorated, as the photograph shows, with conventional sunflowers or perhaps daisies. The corresponding pillar, also of cippolino, has fallen out of its place and is standing inclined at an angle half buried in the ground. The apse, full of the debris of the semi-dome and of the chancel arch, built and decorated on the same principle as El Kef, is the interesting feature in this church. On a broken corbel stone lying in the apse I noticed portions of a Greek epitaph. The views of this part of the church will be found illustrated in the preceding volume on Plate 67.

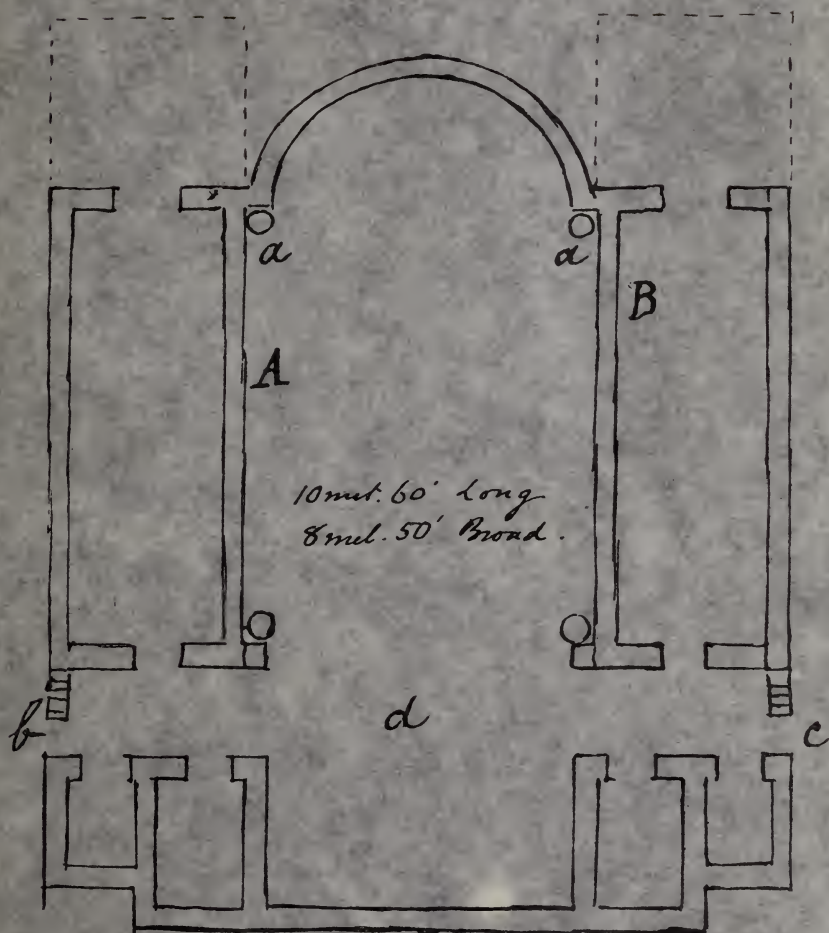
The Monastery

I now come to the so-called monastery and the central edifice in it should be compared with the interior of a similar building in the precincts of the basilica of Tebessa. The latter is much the larger building of the two and the construction is not quite the same, but the distinctive peculiarity, the arrangement of troughs and arched apertures over them built into the walls dividing the nave from the aisles, occurs in both.

The picture of this edifice at Haidra is taken from the point A on the plan, and the spectator is standing in the nave or hall looking in an easterly direction towards the wall dividing it from the south aisle at the point B. The reverse side of this wall is shown in the next picture. An examination of the masonry shows that the front or finished side of the wall faced the nave and was made of stones carefully dressed and laid;

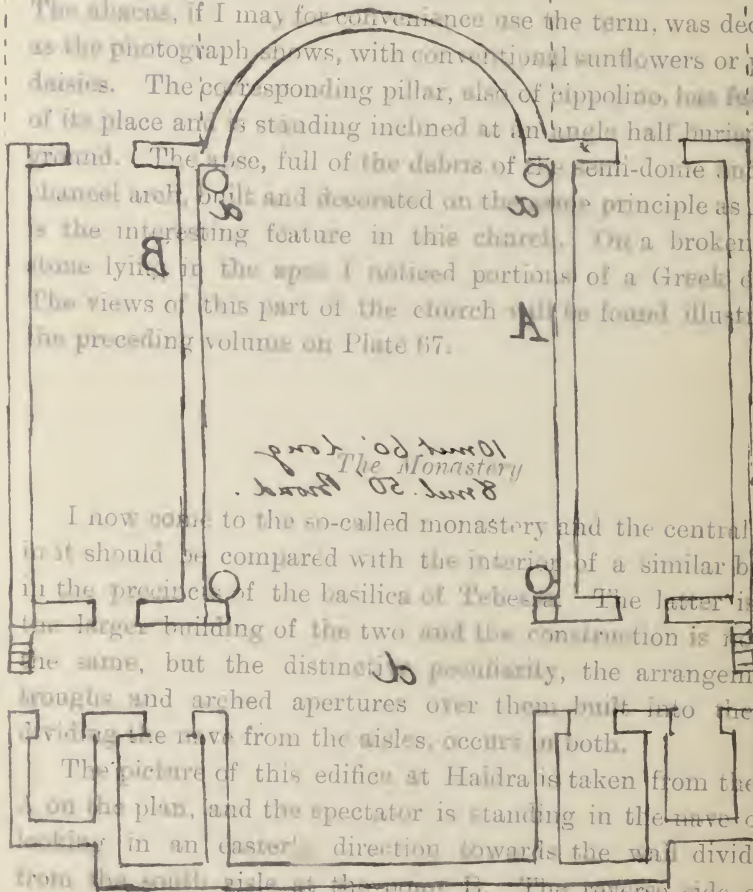
HAIDRA.

So-called stables with mangers



corners and at intervals along the sides. The straight bands meet angles to the wall, and the chancel is built up against one of the bastions. It seems to have been a little basilica with nave and aisles and a single apse. The site has not been excavated and the debris lies where they fell. The base of a tower at the angle, a portion of a pilaster, and the spring of one of the nave arches all on the north side, alone remain. The lower part of the apse, built against the bastion, has been preserved up to the spring of the semi-dome that covered it. The chancel arch was supported by two cippolino columns, one on either side. A few

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The picture of this edifice at Haidra is taken from the point A on the plan, and the spectator is standing in the nave or hall looking in an easterly direction towards the wall dividing it from the south side at the point B. The reverse side of this wall is shown in the next picture. An examination of the masonry shows that the front or finished side of the wall faced the nave and was made of stones carefully dressed and laid:



on the top of this wall are a row of eight round-headed arches supported on little monolith pilasters, and above the arches there is a course of stones laid along the top. The under-side of these stones has evidently been cut away to relieve the pressure on the arch below. It will be understood that the wall on the opposite side was built in exactly the same way.

At the points *a a* in the angles of the nave, are the bases of small pillars that were presumably introduced for decorative purposes. These pillars have disappeared and any part of the roof they may have supported is also gone. Of the roof nothing remains, but at each end of the hall is an arch of substantial masonry that probably supported a timber and tile roof. It is conceivable, but very unlikely, that the nave was covered throughout with a stone barrel vault. The south end of the nave was finished off by a semi-circular apse made of small stones and covered by a semi-circular semi-dome that abutted on to the stone arch I have just described. The floor of the apse was slightly raised above that of the nave and marked off by a row of flag stones. The aisles or gangways on each side of the nave led respectively to a small chamber on each side of the apse at the east end. The arrangement of the building at the west end is more confused, but I think the plan represents it fairly accurately. The entrances *b* and *c* led to a gangway *d*, and from it there was access to several apartments at the west end of the nave. On the south side there seems to have been a large courtyard.

The interesting features in this edifice are the little rectangular troughs cut in the top of the wall between each pilaster to a depth of about 45 centimetres.

A comparison of this building at Haidra with that at Tebessa, shows that the situation of the troughs was the same in both, but at Tebessa in place of the arches the apertures over them were square. The latter is a much larger building than the one at Haidra, and needed square piers placed at intervals in the nave to support the very wide span of the roof.

Both at Haidra and Tebessa some of the troughs and the pilasters adjoining them are pierced with small holes of a kind frequently found cut in Roman ruins in North Africa, as

for example, in the steps of the principal temple of Dougga; and the Arabs of to-day cut much the same kind of holes in walls to tether their cattle by.

It has been argued from the occurrence of these holes that these troughs were for horses or cattle, and that the buildings were either stables or markets. On the other hand, it is argued that the form of the building at Haidra, especially the apse and adjoining chambers, show that it was a church.

I may observe that it is difficult to believe that the building at Tebessa was a church. First there is no evidence of it in the plan or details themselves, and secondly it is improbable that with the great basilica near by a second church of this odd shape should have been built in the same enclosure. The objection to applying the stable theory to the building at Haidra is a practical one. I calculated that the aisles were too narrow for horses, that eight aside could be accommodated in the nave, making sixteen animals altogether, and that they would be obliged to remain in a standing position. This practical difficulty and the improbability that so large and costly a building should have been erected for so small a number of animals seems to dispose of the stable theory in the case of Haidra unless we are to suppose, as M. Saladin does, that it was a *fonduk* or *khan* for temporary accommodation only.

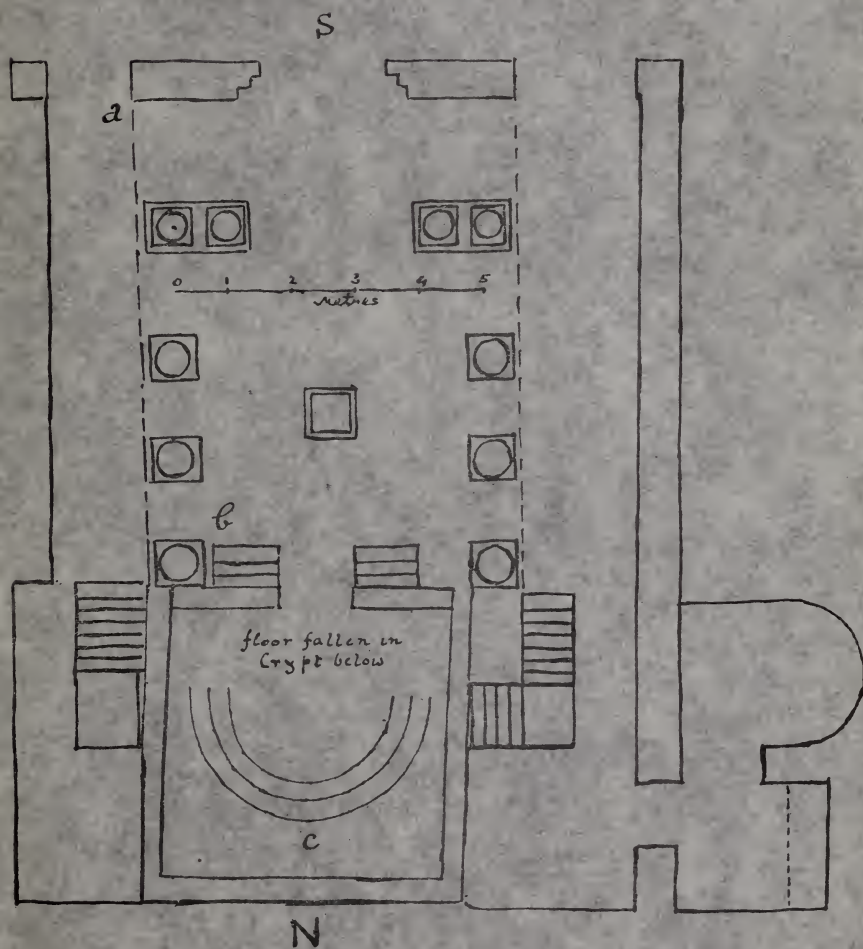
Having said that much, however, I do not doubt that the Arabs used the hall at Tebessa to stable their horses, or that the early Christians converted the nave at Haidra into a church, but these were not the original purposes either building was intended to serve, and whatever that purpose may have been, it was the same for both.

It is easy to dispose of these conjectures and difficult to suggest even a plausible theory, let alone a satisfactory explanation concerning these troughs. As an alternative to M. Saladin's proposal, I suggest that they were intended for the treatment of some mineral or agricultural product, excluding oil and wine, for we know what the presses commonly used for these commodities were like. Not the least curious thing about these troughs is that they occur so rarely,* and that the only known examples should be situated so close together.

* There is some indication of the same kind of building at Sbeitla.

DOUGGA.
TUNIS.
basilica.

Plan.



78

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EL KEF

The principal place of importance between Teboursouk and the Algerian frontier at Haidra is the town still known by this Arab name. The Roman city was called *Sicca Veneria*, and must have been a place of considerable military importance. It stands at an altitude of 700 metres above the sea-level, and on the occasion of my visit was covered with snow and bitterly cold. The church is described and illustrated in the preceding volume on Plate 66.

DOUGGA

This miserable collection of Arab hovels occupies the site of the once flourishing Roman town known as the *Civitas Thuggensis*, first a municipium in the reign of Septimius Severus, and later on a colony known as *Colonia Licinia Septimia Alexandriana Thugga*. The chief object of interest at Dougga is the Punic tomb erected for a local prince and dating from the second century before our Lord. This celebrated structure and the Roman remains are too well known to need more than a passing reference. Owing to the isolated position in the hills, about 5 kilom. south-west of Teboursouk, the more important ruins have escaped destruction in a wonderful degree; the theatre in particular is perhaps the best preserved monument of its kind in existence.

At the entrance of the town, and a few yards north of the road to Teboursouk, are the remains of a little church built, like the Byzantine fort near by, of Roman materials. It was discovered in 1907, and has recently been excavated and explored. The small letters on the accompanying ground plan indicate the places the pictures were taken from.

It is a little basilica with a square nave, side aisles, a sanctuary with a single semi-circular apse at the north end, a narthex, a crypt under the chancel, and some tombs and a chapel on the south-west side. There were three doors in the south front leading to the nave and the aisles respectively. Entering by the main door, we pass into the narthex, and thence into the nave. This was separated from the aisles by ten pillars, five on each side, the first two nearest the door being in pairs

to mark the narthex. The lime-stone shafts and caps obtained from a Roman building have nearly all been taken away by the Arabs. The walls were made on the usual Byzantine principle, as in the fort at Ain Tounga, of large vertical stones, braced here and there with horizontal ones, and the interstices filled in with small cut stones or rough rubble, according to the care bestowed on the construction. I am not at all sure that the nave of this church was covered in by a roof at all, and should not be more correctly described as an open atrium or forecourt; the aisles would then form a kind of cloister, and this arrangement would account for the square drain-hole in the centre of the floor being provided to carry off the rain-water. The entrance to the chancel is by two small flights of three steps. It will be seen from my sketch that part of the floor of the chancel has fallen into the crypt below.

The sanctuary was arranged with seats for the clergy on the usual semi-circular plan set in the square end of the church. There is no trace of the altar that, according to precedent, should have stood in the nave at a little distance from the steps; it may have stood on the piece of the floor that has now fallen in, or between the steps themselves. In that case there would have been a window under it with perhaps a grille in front to light the crypt underneath. The little square hole in the middle of the floor of the nave is too small to have been the base of the altar.

Access to the crypt is by two flights of steps, one in each chancel aisle. The ground plan of the crypt shows that it was arranged to accommodate several tombs. Of these, the most important was at the east end apse, where I noticed the cover of a stone coffin inscribed VICTORIA SANCTI MONIALE (?) IN PACE. In the south side of the crypt are a number of other stone coffins, all desecrated and rifled. Passing across the crypt, and ascending the stairs on the west side, there is a door in the wall of the church immediately opposite the top of the steps leading into two little chambers shown in the photograph. The first is certainly a tomb. The other has an apse, and probably had a little chapel in it.

There is hardly anything left of the decorative detail of the church. I noticed one shaft of coloured pink African marble lying in the aisle, a large limestone capital of the Roman period

DOUGGA.

Chancel and crypt.

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There is hardly anything left of the decorative detail of the church. I noticed one shaft of coloured pink African marble going to the apse, a large limestone capital of the Roman period



with the caulicole design like the example in the monastery garden at Tibar, and a smaller one also of the same period. On an upright tombstone standing near the chancel steps is an inscription D. M. S. MODIA FELICITAS.

The photographs show how roughly the nave was paved, and the irregularity of the plan and the general appearance of the work indicate that it was put together from materials obtained from the Roman city. When I first visited this church there was a piece of the cornice of the theatre with a Latin inscription on it lying in the nave, but I was unable to find it on my second visit. There can be little doubt that this church was rebuilt after the Byzantine conquest of the Vandals, in the later part of the sixth century, or the first part of the seventh.*

The modern village of Teboursouk represents a Roman and Byzantine fortress at the junction of the high road between Carthage and Tebessa with the cross-road from Beja and Pont de Trajan to central Tunis by the district of Gaffour. Near by were the two cities Ain Tounga and Dougga, with ruins of the same period containing many Roman and some early Christian buildings. Among these were the trefoil chapel at Henchir Maatria described in vol. 1, and another chapel like it near a place called El Aroussa, a station east of Gaffour on the Tunis—El Kef railway. After a long ride from Teboursouk through a mountain pass covered with trees, scrub and maquis and commanding extensive views over the surrounding country I found the chapel at El Aroussa had been reduced to a shapeless heap of ruins.

AIN TOUNGA

The principal ruin at Ain Tounga on the road to Tunis is a well-preserved Byzantine fort built after the conquest of the Vandals from Roman materials of the earlier city. The view of the inside of the fort shows how the Byzantines utilized the old masonry by the insertion of rubble into a framework of

* Beside this little church the Christians used the Roman temples of Jupiter and Minerva and Cœlestis for Christian worship. These were no doubt appropriated after the suppression of paganism in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

horizontal and vertical stones of large size taken from cornices, lintels, architraves, and the like. M. Guerin reproduces a long inscription from a Roman cornice now imbedded in the north wall of the fort.

The long building with the apses at the extremities is said to be a bath; but as there is some doubt about it I use the term here for convenience until the real purpose it was built to serve has been determined by excavation. It is a rectangular hall divided by two screens into three compartments communicating with one another by double doors in each screen. The two outer compartments of the hall are rounded off in the shape of semi-circular apses; the former were covered with timber and tile roofs, and the latter by semi-domes.*

The next two photographs can only be explained by reference to the plan on the fly-sheet; the first is taken from *a*, and the second from *b*. I cannot help thinking that the idea of using engaged or detached pillars, so frequently found in early Christian buildings, to decorate the entrance to an apse was derived from some common Roman model of which this particular edifice supplies an example.

The other buildings of interest are an odd little triumphal arch and the ruin of a building that bears a striking resemblance to the detached baptistery in the church of Servus at Sbeitla. The four pilasters at the angles of the square building, that was probably the cella of a temple, are made of dressed and well-cut stones and certainly Roman.

TIBAR

About two miles west of the monastery of S. Joseph are some remains of a Roman country town. On the side of a hill stand the ruins of the sanctuary of a church interesting chiefly as affording an example of the favourite African plan of building a church apse with niches. Another example of this kind will be seen in the fragment of the apse in the building on the north-east corner of Sbeitla. The church was comparatively small; the principal apse is at the west end, and a porch or narthex at the east end. Beneath the nave is a crypt.

* I am indebted to M. Merlin for the plan.

From Tibar to Teboursouk there is a fine drive over the mountains by a zigzag road, and on the pass near the summit are the remains of another small town that had two triumphal arches of small size and plain design, and a church or chapel with an apse like that at Tibar. I saw no indications of Byzantine fortifications or other buildings either here or at Tibar, and infer that the remains belong to the early Christian period.

In the monastery garden at Tibar there is a fine collection of Punic tombs, and some capitals of various dates. The monastery is, of course, quite modern. I gratefully record the hospitality shown to me by the White Fathers here under the presidency of my friend the Rev. Alexis Lemaitre, now Bishop of Setif and Vicar Apostolic of the Sudan, by Père Cass, the mother superior and the staff of the little hostelry of the Sainte Famille where we lodged.

EASTERN TUNIS

UPPENA

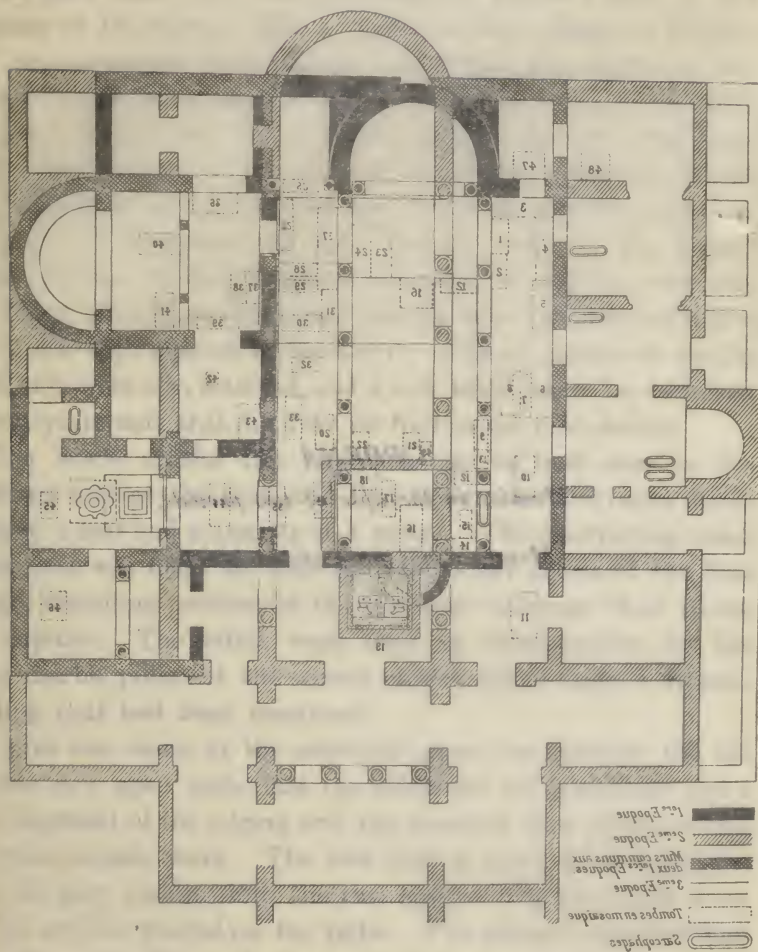
THE ruined basilica at Uppena is one of the most important Christian monuments in North Africa, for the original church, though not a large one, was destroyed at an early date, and a second and rather larger church was built over it. In the following account they will be called the first and second churches respectively.

The ruins of the town of Uppena stand about two miles from the seashore of the Gulf of Hammamet, and quite close to the railway and the route nationale between Sousse and Tunis. The spot is now called Henchir Chegarnia, and about two miles north of Enfidaville, and six miles south-west of the large Roman fortress town Aphrodisium, now known as Henchir el Fradis.* After the Byzantine conquest Uppena was provided with a small fort made of materials taken from the ancient city to guard the road from the south to Carthage. This road was followed by Justinian's army after the successful landing at Caput Vada, the Ras Capoudia of to-day. From the materials used, it is evident that the second church was rebuilt about the same time as the fort. Nothing is known of the date or circumstances of the building, or of the destruction of the first church, or of the condition the Greeks found it in when they came, but judging by the mosaics it could not have been altogether destroyed, and the old tombs were not disturbed, but the pavement of the second church was built at varying heights above the original floor.

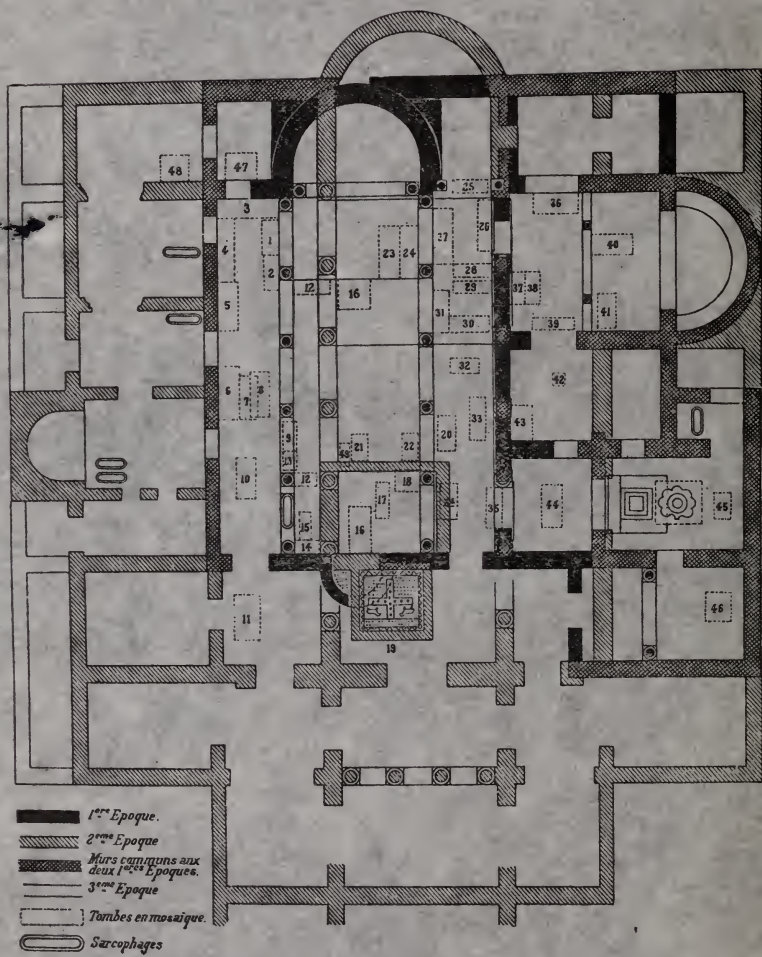
The first church was built to lie east and west, with the sanctuary at the west end. There was a nave with aisles on each

* Possibly a corruption of the Roman name. It is also known as Ain Hallouf, the 'well of the boar,' and has been identified as one of the Vandal strongholds mentioned by Procopius.





PLAN DE LA BASILIQUE CHRÉTIENNE DUPRENY



PLAN DE LA BASILIQUE CHRÉTIENNE D'UPPENNA

side, a semicircular apse at the west end, and another and another semicircular apse at the east end with a door on either side of it. On the north side there was a transept with a semicircular apse, and some square chambers adjoined it including a square tower of four. The nave was divided from the aisles by single pillars of brown sandstone with very plain caps to match; there were six on each side, and also two detached pillars placed at the entrance of the chancel apse as in the garrison chapel at Haidra. The accompanying plan shows that while the centre of the second church was shifted a little to the north, some of the walls and doors built for the first were also used for the newer building; so the same south wall served for both, but the north wall of the first became the division of the nave from the north aisle in the second. In consequence of the increased width of the second church, the use of the sanctuary apse and its position were enlarged and altered, and the small eastern apse was changed into a square one with a porch in front of it. The old chambers on the north side were also retained, and a new lobed basin was annexed to the square tank that did duty for font in the first church.

mosaic tombs at English church.

I give two views of the sanctuary apse, one showing the old and the new apse walls, and the other the old pavement and a little fragment of the edging and the common ring pattern found in Roman mosaic work. The first view is taken from the point A on the plan looking into the two apses. The first apse is on the left and the second on the right. The second view is taken from the point B on the plan looking across the two apses. The second apse is in the foreground, and the white wall of the first apse is beyond it. There are no indication of bishop's throne or clergy seats in either of them, but the ground has been disturbed too much to distinguish the internal arrangements with any certainty.

*UPPENA.**Mosaics in the apse of two periods.**Mosaic tombs at Enfida church.*

side, a semicircular apse at the west end, and another and smaller semicircular apse at the east end with a door on either side of it. On the north side there was a transept with a semicircular apse, and some square chambers adjoined it including a square tank or font. The nave was divided from the aisles by single pillars of brown sandstone with very plain caps to match; there were six on each side, and also two detached pillars placed at the entrance of the chancel apse as in the garrison chapel at Haidra. The accompanying plan shows that while the centre of the second church was shifted a little to the north, some of the walls and doors built for the first were also used for the newer building; so the same south wall served for both, but the north wall of the first became the division of the nave from the north aisle in the second. In consequence of the increased width of the second church the arc of the sanctuary apse and its position were enlarged and altered, and the small eastern apse was changed into a square one with a porch in front of it. The old chambers on the north side were also retained, and a new lobed basin was annexed to the square tank that did duty for font in the first church.

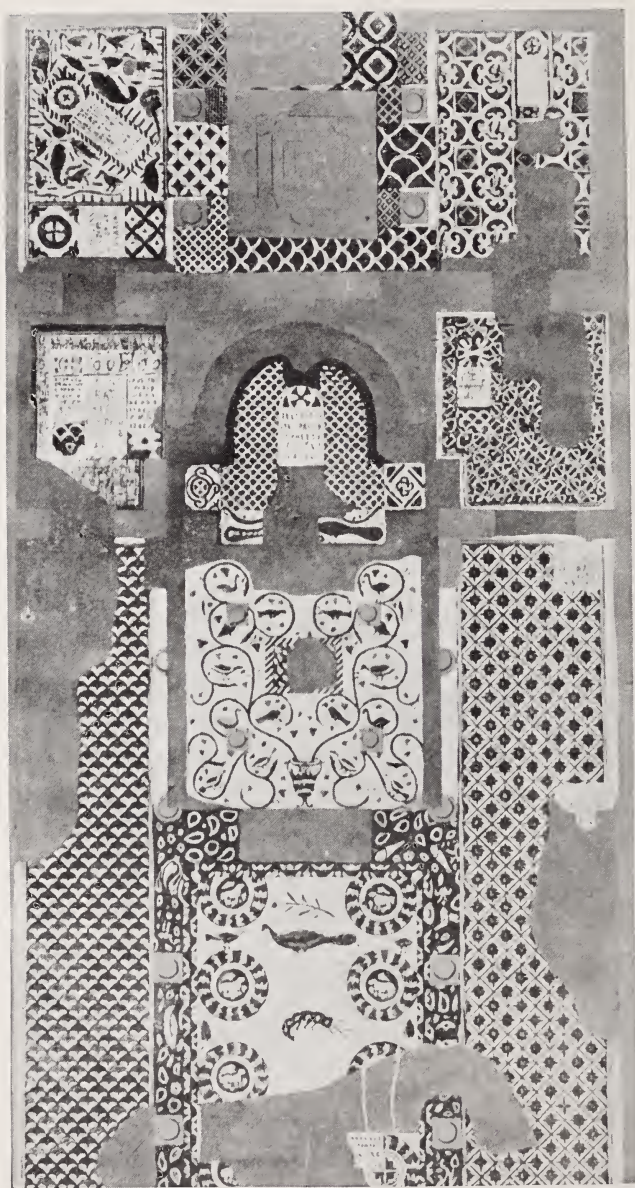
The levels of the two churches can be best seen in the sanctuary and at the tank and font where the difference varies between a half and a quarter of a metre. The intervening space in the nave was filled up with the rubble and debris of the first church, including portions of the old stone columns, their bases, and capitals. The latter were used as substructures for the white marble pillars of the second church taken from a Roman building that had been destroyed.

I give two views of the sanctuary apse, one showing the old and the new apse walls, and the other the old pavement and a little fragment of the edging and the common vine pattern found in Roman mosaic work. The first view is taken from the point A on the plan looking into the two apses. The first apse is on the left and the second on the right. The second view is taken from the point B on the plan looking across the two apses. The second apse is in the foreground, and the white wall of the first apse is beyond it. There are no indication of bishop's throne or clergy seats in either of them, but the ground has been disturbed too much to distinguish the internal arrangements with any certainty.

A general view of a ruin of this kind is never satisfactory or of much practical use owing to the inevitable confusion of detail in the picture; but with the assistance of the plan some of the features can be distinguished. The first view of the church is taken from the point C on the plan looking towards A, that is to say from the narthex to the sanctuary, showing the two apses in the distance. The more conspicuous objects, the white marble bases of the pillars on the left, a capital standing by itself on a block of stone in the middle of the picture, and the wall across the right side, mark the divisions of the old and new churches. The white bases belong to the pillars between the nave and the south aisle of the second church. The little capital marks the division of the nave and the north aisle of the first church, and the wall marks the north side of the second church. The second view is taken in the opposite direction from the point D looking towards C. On the right side is the south wall that was common to both churches. On the left are the same row of white marble pillar bases seen in the preceding view, but viewed in the opposite direction. Between them and the wall on the right some square stones in a row one behind the other mark the division of the nave and the south aisle of the old church. The next pictures are of a capital made of sandstone from the first church and the marble capital of a pillar of the second church. As there is no white marble in this part of Africa the latter were imported and perhaps obtained from a Roman building. But I have some doubt as to the provenance of these capitals, for it will be noticed that the acanthus foliage is cut in very low relief in distinction to the high relief of the earlier style. And for that reason it is quite likely that the capitals were not obtained from a Roman building but made new.* The next object of interest is the font, consisting of two parts; † a square tank made for the first church in the old floor level, and above it the font of the second church, made in the usual lobed shape, associated with churches rebuilt during the Byzantine occupation. This lobed design appears to be derived from a pattern sometimes found in Roman thermæ.

* Compare this style of low relief with that of the Roman capital at Tibar and that of a late capital from Ephesus now in our church at Lower Kingswood in Surrey.

† This is illustrated on Plate 57, vol. i.



I now come to the apses at the east end of the basilica that were provided in both churches for the so-called martyrs' tomb. This part of the church was carefully excavated under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities for the purpose of preserving any relics that might be found. In the first place it was discovered that the mosaic pavement with an inscription (a) found on the floor of the square apse of the second church was a replica of the original inscription in the semicircular apse of the first church. Mosaic found in the church at Uppena from Uppena.

I do not hesitate to identify the tomb of the martyrs (b) given in the publication of the *Museo Senigalliano*.^{*} This mosaic is now deposited in the church at Uppena from Uppena.



* *Nouvelles Archives des Musées Scientifiques*, Tome XV. Fascicule 4. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907.

† Mgr. Toulotte. *Procès verbaux d'une double Mission Archéologique aux ruines de la basilique d'Uppena*. Pub. Tunis, 1906.

‡ *Procès Verbaux*; a photograph of the last part of this inscription is given in the Plate to face p. 22.

*Floor of Sidi Abich church.
(Canon Raoul.)*

*Mosaic tomb in the church at Enfida from uppena.
Tomb of the martyrs.*



I now come to the apses at the east end of the basilica that were provided in both churches for the so-called martyrs tomb. This part of the church was carefully excavated under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities for the purpose of preserving any relics that might be found. In the first place it was noticed that the mosaic pavement with an inscription (*a*) found on the floor of the square apse of the second church was a replica of the original inscription (*b*) in the semicircular apse of the first church, but the latter was too much mutilated for preservation.

I do not hesitate to reproduce the photograph of (*a*) given in the publication of the 'Mission Scientifiques.'* This mosaic is now deposited on the floor of the chancel of the modern church at Enfidaville. The inscription is sufficiently legible on the photograph to make a transcript of it unnecessary.† The first names, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, were probably inserted *honoris causa*. It has been suggested that the other persons whose names appear may be identified as follows. The two Saturninus were father and son who suffered martyrdom in 304. Vindemius was perhaps Althiburus who was condemned to exile with Honorius in 484; Donatus, a martyr in the persecution under the Emperor Decius; Jacler and Cecilius, colleagues of S. Cyprian; and Lucilla the Saint whose name appears in the Carthage Calendar under date February 14th.

In the earlier inscription (*b*) the words from 'Gloria' to 'Omnibus' were omitted. All that remains of it is the following fragment,

A T V R
T V R N I N
G V D V D A
O R T V N I A D E R
E I I I I N O N A V G
V E M B R I V M

and on the front of the step,

TATIS SVAE BEATISSIMIS MARTVRIBVS †

* *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, Tome XV. Fascicule 4. Paris Imprimerie Nationale, 1907.

† Mgr. Toulotte. *Procès verbaux d'une double Mission Archeologique aux ruines de la basilique d'Uppena*. Pub. Tunis, 1906.

‡ *Procès Verbaux*; a photograph of the last part of this inscription is given there on the Plate to face p. 22.

No relics that could be identified with the persons commemorated in the inscription were found. Under the earlier apse there was a jar and under the later one two children's tombs, parts of two tombs that had been made for the first church, a jar, and a small box containing some ashes.

Before describing the tombal mosaics found on the floors of these two churches, I may conveniently mention here another small church at a spot called Sidi Abich between Uppena and Enfidaville. This basilica had a semicircular apse at the west end, and beyond it a baptistery. It is ascribed to the Byzantine period, and probably rightly, as the font that obviously formed part of the original design of the church is of the lobed variety usually associated with that period. The floor of this church was also covered with a fine set of mosaics including several tombal epitaphs that have now been moved into the new French church at Enfidaville and mixed up with those from Uppena. The floor was so wrecked in the process of moving these tombs that the interior arrangements are not now distinguishable, but a sketch made before this happened is of sufficient interest to be worth reproducing here, because with a strong glass the names and places of the mosaic tombs can be identified with those on my photographs.*

The smaller tombal mosaics that were moved from these two churches are now on the walls of the new church at Enfidaville.

The first three found on the south side of the chancel at Sidi Abich are very roughly executed and were fitted into the earlier mosaic pavement. They belong respectively to Vitalis Famulus, a hermit called Renobatus, and Faustinus. The fourth to Bellator came also from Sidi Abich and was found on the north side of the Baptistery.

The next three from Uppena belong to Pascasius Reparatus and Julius Honorius a flamen. The next three, also from Uppena, belong to Lucilianus Vernacla and to Crescentius a deacon and Brutannicus his son.

The pascal lamb in the wreath is one of a series found on either side of the nave at Sidi Abich. The tomb to Faustina

* The original watercolour picture of this floor was made by M. Demont, and the Rev. Canon Raoul photographed it for reproduction in the *Procès Verbaux*, p. 6, where it will be found.

Mosaics in the church at Enfida Tunis.

To face page 146

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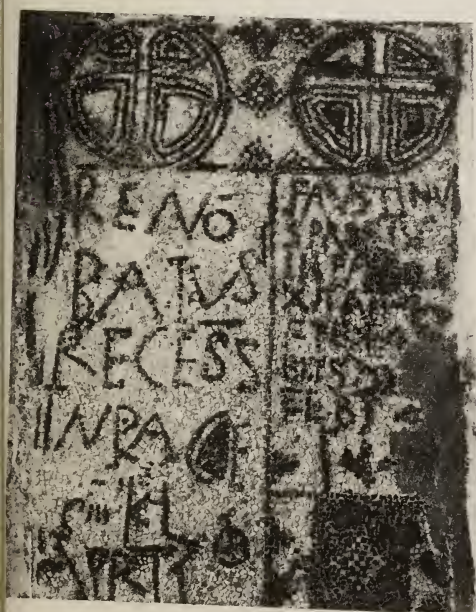
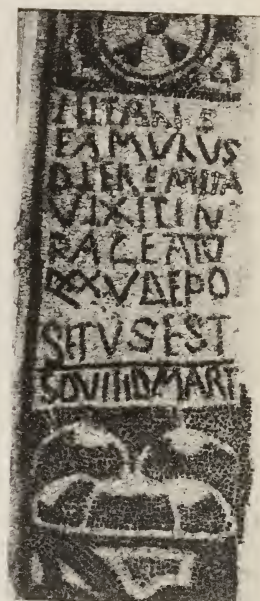
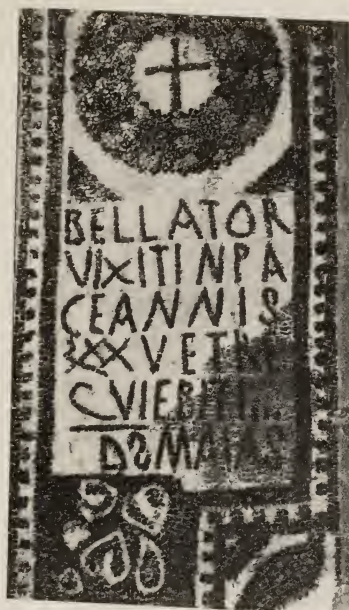
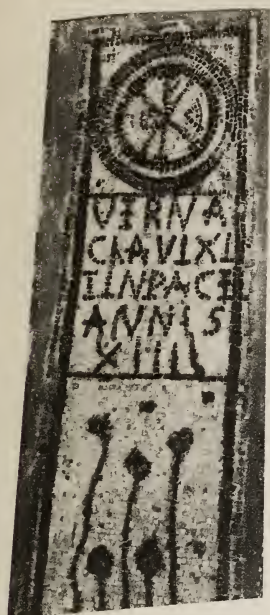
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The pascal lamb in the wreath is one of a series found on either side of the nave at Sidi Abich. The tomb to Faustina

* The original water-colour picture of this floor was made by M. Demont, and the *Bar. Chama Gaoul* photographed it for reproduction in the *Procès Verbal*, p. 6, where it will be found.



and the child SPENDEN (spes in Deo) comes from Uppena.* In passing I must not omit to draw attention first to the similarity between the cross in the corner of Faustina's tomb and those on the altar slab in the church of S. Giovanni at Gaeta, and in S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Sabina at Rome; secondly to the Byzantine border pattern that so frequently occurs in this part of North Africa.

Beside the large Byzantine mosaic of the saints the following mosaic inscriptions † on bishops' tombs also from the basilica at Uppena are now on the floor of the chancel in the church of Enfidaville: Baleriolus Episcopus vixit annis LXXXII depositus die GII kal Octobres. Above: +P in monogram in a wreath of foliage. On another tomb: Honorius episcopus vixit annis XC depositus sub die GII Idus Augustus. Above: +P in monogram with a ω depending from the arms of the cross.

It will be noticed that the crosses at the heads of the examples from Sidi Abich differ from one another and from the others. The crosses over the tombs in the second group are substantially alike with A and ∇ suspended from the arms of the cross. Those on the next three have A and ∇ in the field with the combined XP that is usually called the Constantinian monogram. I doubt the value of these various forms of cross for fixing dates, and have something to say upon this question later on.

There is, of course, no doubt as to the date of the Byzantine mosaic of the martyrs, but the two problems that have so far not been solved are, what was the date of the earlier mosaic, and did the persons commemorated suffer martyrdom as Christians during the pagan persecutions, or as Catholics in the times of the Vandal occupation, more particularly in the reign of Hunneric. The information at present available is altogether insufficient to answer them.

Included in this series † is the mosaic found on a priest's tomb at Thinna, the important predecessor of the modern city of Sfax. It is now in the municipal museum with a large collection of sacred or secular objects found in the neighbour-

* Illustrated in vol. i. on Plate 72.

† Photographs of these will be found in *Nouvelles Archives* quoted above.

hood. Among them is a cedar-wood coffin, probably of a Roman officer, which contained his body and a bronze sword lying by his side.

Bir bou Rekba

Near this station on the Tunis-Sousse railway, where a branch line runs to Hammamet, are the ruins of a Roman town and of an early basilican church. The latter is built on an unusual plan, is correctly orientated, and belongs, I think, to the early Christian period. The fabric has been completely razed to the ground, and all that remains are some fragments of pavement, the foundations of the altar that stood in the semicircular apse, and a small part of the outer walls on the south side. The numerous fragments of mosaic and variety of coloured marbles show that the church must have been richly decorated. The plan seems to indicate that, contrary to the usual practice, the apse extended to the whole width of the church so that the aisles were carried round in the form of an ambulatory. A door in the centre of the outer wall of the apse led to a large octagonal baptistery.*

In the centre of this stood the font of the same early type as the example now in the Bardo Museum, made of white marble, with two flights of three steps leading down into a circular cuvette sunk into the floor. This is probably an example of the earliest type of font for immersion that preceded the lobed variety found in churches belonging to the Restoration period after the Byzantine conquest. I was unable to take any pictures or any measurements, in consequence of the proximity of the French fort, but during our visit we were kindly received by the officers who took us into the barrack square and showed us some stelæ and one or two capitals of the Roman period. The more important Roman remains, consisting of a large group of farm buildings and a nymphæum, testify to the importance of this place, and it was probably then, as now, a military station.

From Bir bou Rekba the turnpike road follows the

* I give a plan of this on the fly-sheet opposite.

railway into low ground, and approaching the seashore passes by a large cylindrical tomb made of stone not unlike that of Cecilia Metella on the Appian way. The first village in the direction of Sousse is Bou Ficha an important agricultural centre belonging to the Enfida Domain. On the wall of the house inhabited by the agent or factor of this agricultural company are some crosses* and one or two capitals from the site of the ancient city of Aphrodisium the modern Henchir Fradis in the foot hills near by.† There are no signs of a Christian church in Henchir Fradis, but several Roman ruins, including a handsome little triumphal arch and a barrage at the modern well, known as Ain el Hallouf. The Arabs of this place were very friendly, and the headman insisted on presenting me with a well-preserved coin of Constantine I. The site of this Roman city has been very imperfectly explored, and this and several other towns in the neighbourhood seem to offer a promising field for future research.

CARTHAGE

The three principal churches in Carthage appear to have been the great Christian basilica known as the *Damus el Karita*, the church in the amphitheatre dedicated to the martyrs *S. Perpetua* and her companions, and the large basilica on the south-east of the chapel of *S. Louis*, known as the *Byzantine church*.‡

The last is the only one of the three where the original plan can now be easily distinguished and compared with other churches in North Africa. Nothing remains of the church of *S. Perpetua*, and the site of the *Damus el Karita* has been so completely destroyed in the search for relics and epitaphs that it is almost impossible to make out what belongs to the original church or were later additions and restorations, or indeed to distinguish what the ground plan was. It is clear, however, that there were two churches built at different dates on the same site. I shall

* Illustrated in vol. i. Plate 73.

† Two crosses and one capital are illustrated in vol. i. on Plates 68 and 73.

‡ In these notes this church is called for convenience the basilica of Justinian, upon the assumption that it was built after the Byzantine conquest. It is quite as large as the *Damus el Karita*, though I have also called it the 'smaller' basilica, referring more to archæological importance than to size.

begin therefore with the so-called Byzantine basilica, premising that it was apparently built at one date and not piecemeal, nor as the restoration of an earlier church.

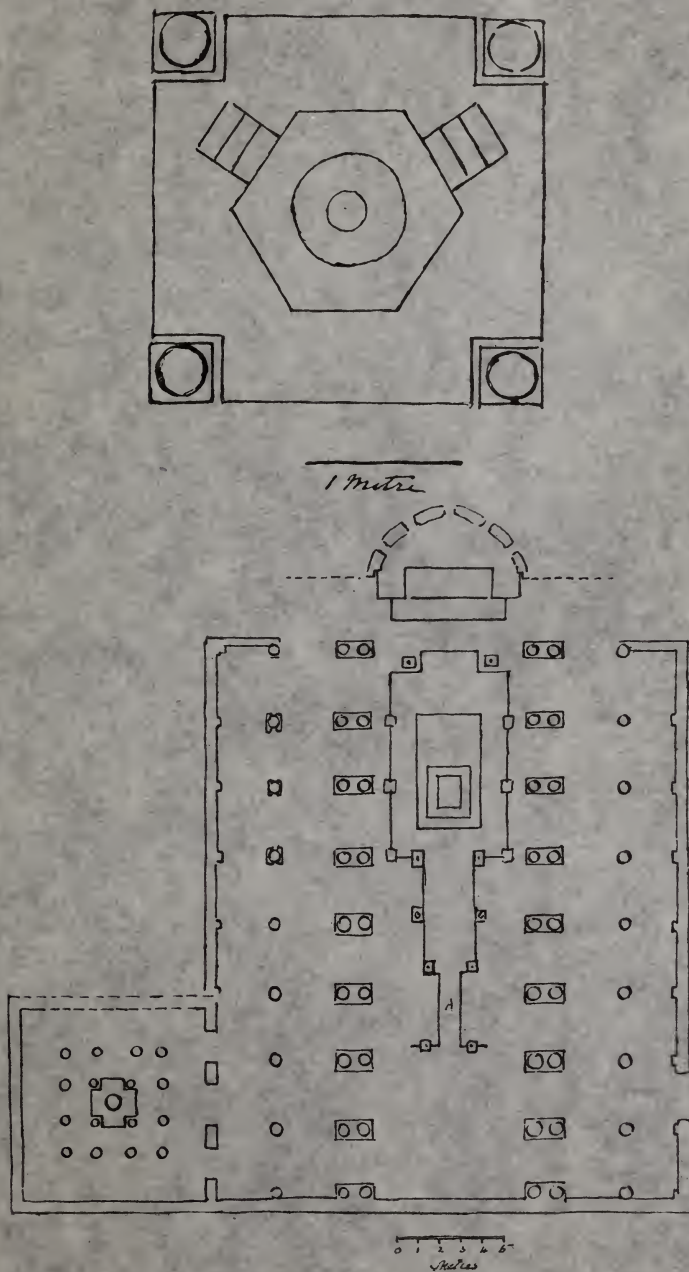
The Byzantine Basilica

This great basilican church has a nave with double aisles, a semi-circular apse at the south-east end, and a baptistery at the north-west corner. It must have been a fine church, and judging by the carvings on some of the fragments lying about, the font and the pattern of the mosaic floor, was built after the Byzantine conquest. It is designed in the form and with the internal arrangements of the ordinary Latin basilica of Rome, where the altar stood out in the open, and not as in the later development of Byzantine architecture, behind a screen and concealed from the view of the congregation.

The character of the church can be easily understood from the photographs and the plan opposite. The general view is taken from high ground at the north end looking up the nave towards the apse. The nave was divided off from the inner aisles by rows of marble pillars in pairs, and the inner aisles in their turn are separated from the outer aisles by rows of single pillars. From the floor, which was covered with mosaics in various patterns, we get perhaps a better idea than from almost any African church of the division of a nave into choir, altar space, and compartments to accommodate the women and different ranks of the worshippers. Nearly all the nave was occupied by these enclosures commencing with a narrow gangway in the middle that gradually broadened out till it reached the altar space where it was carried round the sanctuary enclosure.

The arrangement can be easily understood from the plan, and the different divisions can also be recognized in the photograph. The narrow or west part of this gangway marked A on the plan, appearing in the foreground of my view, was enclosed on each side with white marble balusters, and the floor also seems to have been slightly raised above the rest of the floor of the church and either paved with marble or mosaic. The floor of the nave on either side of the gangway was also paved with mosaic. The screen then broadened out for two

CARTHAGE.

*Basilica, so-called of Justinian.**Plan of the church and baptistery.**To face page 150*

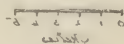
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bays till it reached the sanctuary enclosure where it was carried round the altar.

The altar itself was a large square erection, and has, of course, disappeared. The foundation of cement that stands up above the floor level can still be distinguished, and was apparently hollow in the centre; the space beyond it was open and covered with mosaic of the same pattern as the rest of the gangway. At this point the arrangement of the baluster screens is not clear, but it seems as if there were an open space at B between the end of the altar enclosure and the entrance to the apse. Lying close to the altar are two blocks of white marble, either capitals or portions of the bases of pillars, with crosses carved on them. These either belonged to the screen or to a canopy over the altar. Beside the screens round the altar there are indications on the bases of some of the nave pillars that screens shut off part of the aisles from the rest of the church. But as some of these bases have been replaced in the restoration I cannot be sure that they are in their original positions. It is, however, clear that there were screens round the altar fitted into the nave pillars as well as on little posts as at Tebessa.

Only a few courses of the semi-circular structure of the apse at the south-east end remain. This part of the church seems to have been either lighted by windows, or decorated with niches like those at Tibar, and in the small churches at Sbeitla and elsewhere.* The floor of the apse was raised like a dais above that of the nave and approached by two flights of steps, one on each side of the front of the apse. The space between them is now empty, but probably was decorated with an open screen, as in Sta. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome. There is some indication on the floor of the apse that seats for clergy were provided according to the usual practice.

Passing down the nave to the north end of the church we come to the baptistery. This was a square chamber, or perhaps an open court or cloister with sixteen pillars supporting the roof. In the centre stood a canopy supported on four small pillars fixed

* Saladin mentions another church with an apse like this one. See illustration in his report, p. 52, *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, Tome xiii., 3ème série. The place is now called Henchir el Baroud, and is situated in Central Tunis in the Oued Djilma, near Hadjeb el Aioun.

in the corners of the font beneath. The font* itself was of the usual variety so commonly found in Africa. The top is hexagonal, and from two sides two little flights of steps lead down into the circular cuvette which was lined with marble. In this case, as also in the baptistery of the large church at Sbeitla, the bases of the outer row of pillars were provided with grooves to hold low screens.

One would like to know exactly how the ceremony was performed in practice. In the fonts at the *Damus el Karita*, at Bir Bou Rekba, and in the Bardo museum, the steps lead down to the cuvette, and the cuvettes themselves are large enough to admit of an adult walking down and standing in the font, but in this and many other smaller fonts made with lobes, the cuvette is hardly larger in diameter than an average size hand-basin, and the little steps look as if they were intended for ornament rather than use. In any case it must have been difficult for an adult to use them, or indeed to stand in the water at all, and submersion in the cuvette was certainly impossible. Beyond the baptistery is a chapel with an apse, and some other buildings that communicated with the basilica. They are of no particular interest and are destroyed almost beyond recognition.

The material of the outer walls is rubble made of old materials, supported at intervals by large upright stones. This was the usual Byzantine method of construction seen in the fort at Ain Tounga and the church at Dougga. The main entrance and porch are on the south side of the church, but nothing of them remains.

The church which must have been a very handsome one, and among the largest in the country, was no doubt destroyed in the beginning of the eighth century, after the defeat of the Byzantine fleet and the capture of Carthage by the Saracens.

The Damus el Karita

The accompanying photograph of the *Damus el Karita* will give some idea of the complete condition of ruin that even the floor of this great basilica has been reduced to by the repeated excavations

* Illustrated on Plate 57 in vol. i.

in search of epitaphs and the remains of early Christian saints and martyrs. The ruin is so complete that it is difficult to identify the different parts of the church, even with the assistance of Père Delattre's plan. The view is taken from the west end of the church looking towards the main apse. The larger blocks of masonry on each side are the piers of the nave which extended to the spot where the distant figure is standing in a portion of the semicircular apse; the latter is also shown in another view. The original church, which must have been a very large one, with double if not triple aisles, was built upon the ruins of a Roman building, and is reputed to be the earliest church built in North Africa in the reign of Constantine. At a later date, probably after the Vandal conquest, when the original church had perished, a second and smaller church was built over the site. It was much shorter, as portions of the semicircular apse belonging to it have been found in the middle of the earlier nave. The little trefoil building at the extremity of a large semicircular atrium or court on the south-east side of the church, and a large font on the south-west side are the chief points of interest for my present purpose. The font is a large circular tank with a flight of steps leading down into the saucer-shaped cuvette, and was apparently in an outbuilding or baptistery adjoining the church. In the picture, which is unfortunately taken in a bad light, my servant will be seen standing on the steps, while some debris below mark the bottom of the cuvette. The trefoil chapel at the end of the atrium, or nymphaeum, now completely gutted, is described in the preceding volume.

The traveller who goes to Carthage will of course visit the museum in the monastery of the White Fathers where Père Delattre has collected together numerous fragments from the ancient city. These include a large array of lamps, numerous coins, a terra cotta model of an organ, and lead sheets inscribed with prayers and imprecations used in chariot and horse-racing.

EGYPT

SMALL COUNTRY CHURCHES

BEFORE proceeding to describe one or two small churches in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia I must trouble the reader to revert to the notes on the White monastery at Sohag. It will be observed that within the 'curtain' or outer wall of the monastery there are the remains of no less than three churches of different dates: first the basilica of the early Christian foundation with the trefoil sanctuary; secondly the present Coptic church, built in the ancient sanctuary; and thirdly a small church belonging to an intermediate period, built in the outer corridor on the south side of the basilica. The difference in the 'ritual' arrangement and position of the altar* between the first and third edifices on the one hand and the second on the other will be at once apparent; in the latter the altar is concealed behind the iconostasis or screen according to the Eastern practice, while in the former it stood out in the open according to the Western practice; the apse of the little church in the narthex was also fitted with seats for the clergy and a throne in the centre for the bishop as at Announa† and elsewhere in North Africa.

Some of the churches now to be described fall into one of these two categories and some in the other. The two basilican churches in Nubia, the north church at Addendan and the south church at Faras have apses with tribunes and the altar stands in the open; the use of pillars to support the chancel arch is another feature that makes them almost exact counterparts of the church at Announa in Algeria. The altar arrangement of the three domed churches at East Serreh and the east church at Adden-

* In fact there are three altars in the present Coptic church.

† The arrangement at Announa is almost exactly the same.

dan, also a domed building, are more doubtful; the chancel arches of the former are much too small to admit of an iconostasis, and if the altar was screened at all a curtain must have been used. The churches in Egypt at Medinet Habu, and Nakadeh, and the little chapel at Abd el Kader near Abu Seir are built on the compartment system and they have altar screens made of stone or brick.

The church of S. Simeon at Assouan is also included for the sake of a piece of vaulting in the entrance porch that happens to be well preserved and conveniently illustrates the Coptic method of cross vault building; but the student who wishes to know how the Copts built their barrel vaults should consult two recent publications on Christian architecture in Egypt and Nubia.*

The churches on the Nile below Wady Halfa were excavated by the Eckley Coxe expedition and have been described by Messrs. Mileham and Maciver. They were found at the villages of Serreh and Addendan on the east bank and at Debereh and Faras on the west bank. To these must now be added another church at Faras, discovered by Mr. Griffith and Mr. Woolley, and in some respects it is perhaps the most interesting of the series, for it contains a number of well preserved wall paintings that throw some light upon the date and origin of those at Abu Seir.

* *Churches in Lower Nubia*, by Mileham and Maciver, for the Eckley B. Coxe, Junior, Expedition to Nubia. Published by the University Museum, Philadelphia, 1910. *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, by Somers Clarke, 1912.

LOWER NUBIA

ADDENDAN

North Church

THE churches described by Messrs. Mileham and Maciver fall into two categories. First, the common plain basilica with a semi-circular apse, seats in the chancel, chancel arch pillars, altar in the apse, and in one case a pulpit; and secondly, square churches covered with domes. An unusual plan was found in one of the churches at Addendan, that must have resembled S. Maria delle cinque torri, Monte Cassino, with a central hall and little towers covered by cupolas at the four angles. I give two pictures of this church.

The North church at Addendan is a basilica, with nave, aisles, narthex, and a semicircular apse with square sacristies on each side of it all enclosed in a square outer wall. The apse is provided as at Announa with seats for the clergy arranged in tiers; small doors communicate with the adjoining sacristies, and the altar stands out in the open between the pilasters of the chancel arch; each pilaster is recessed on the nave side to take a granite pillar surmounted by a stone cap; these no doubt supported the chancel arch. Upon this arrangement Messrs. Mileham and Maciver say as follows:—

‘The tribune occupies the greater part of the sanctuary, with the result that the altar has been placed more to the west than is usual. It is doubtful if this was the original arrangement, for the doors to the sacristies are almost meaningless at the present time as they are blocked up for nearly half their height by the brickwork of the tribune. The altar, which was built of crude

ADDENDAN NUBIA.

North church.

*General view with the Nile and interior looking West
(with my guide); and East with pillar of chancel arch.*

LOWER NUBIA

ADDENDAN

North Church

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The North church at Addendan is a basilica, with nave, aisles, narthex, and a semicircular apse with square sacristies on each side of it all enclosed in a square outer wall. The apse is provided as at Announa with seats for the clergy arranged in tiers; small doors communicate with the adjoining sacristies, and the altar stands out in the open between the pillars of the chancel arch; each pillar is recessed on the nave side to take a granite pillar surmounted by a stone cap; these no doubt supported the chancel arch. Upon this arrangement Messrs. Mileham and Maciver say as follows:—

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brick (not of burnt brick as in the other examples), stands between the piers of the Arch of Triumph.* This position would not allow of a screen between the columns, yet that a screen existed at some period is almost certain, for there is a rough seating for a beam cut in each column a little below the necking.'

They do not date this church, but to a church near Debereh a few miles distant they assign the tenth century, and as the chancel arch capitals in both are almost exactly alike we may, I suppose, infer that the two churches were built about the same time.

It will be seen that the general and internal arrangements of this church resemble those of the churches in Algeria and Tunis, and so far as construction is concerned an earlier date than that given by the American expedition might be assigned to them. The evidence of an alteration in the ritual arrangement is even more apparent in the church at Debereh, where a portion of an iconostasis remains that did not form part of the original design.

FARAS

The plan of the South church at Faras is almost exactly the same, but the altar stands a little nearer into the apse. Besides the same seats for the clergy arranged in tiers, this apse is also provided with three niches in the walls. The suggestion † that this triple niche arrangement is symbolic of the Trinity is quite likely to be well founded. The purpose these niches were intended to serve is indicated by the lamp stand in one of them, and the photograph shows that the oil stain is still visible.

For the interesting collection of objects found the reader is referred to the Eckley Coxe publication. The characters on a fragment of parchment found in this church are attributed to the sixth century or the seventh, and the similarity to the North African churches justifies a preference for that period.

* The chancel arch.

† *Churches in Lower Nubia*, by Mileham and Maciver. The arrangement of three niches will be found in the Rocelletta in Calabria and something of the same kind occurs in the apses of the church at Tibar and in the smaller basilica at Carthage in Tunis.

EAST SERREH

This ruined town stands on the east bank of the Nile about 12 miles north of the Wady Halfa. It contains three small churches that are interesting chiefly from the architectural point of view for they show that the squinch and pendentive were used concurrently to support a dome built over a square substructure. From the liturgical arrangement they do not differ substantially from the early African church model. There was but a single altar in a sanctuary at the east end, and a small chapel of the prothesis and the diaconicon communicating with it on each side. These chapels contain recesses in the wall that were no doubt used to keep the sacred vessels, books, and other church furniture.

The plans are reproduced from Messrs. Mileham and Maciver's book, and as they have given a detailed survey of the churches I need do no more here than illustrate the method of supporting the domes and reproduce my photograph to give a general idea of the appearance of these little buildings.

The first and smallest church stands just outside the town wall on the north side. It is made of sun-dried bricks, and seen at a distance looks like a box with a small cupola rising from about the middle of it. The first view is taken from the south-east corner and shows the south side, the door of the narthex, and the cupola above. Entering the church by this door we come into the narthex or corridor that occupies the whole of the western end of the church, and was provided with another corresponding door at the north end. The next view is taken from the narthex looking along the small nave and showing the chancel arch now blocked up and all that remains of the crownless dome that covered the eastern bay of the nave; the sanctuary is beyond the central arch, and the two arches on the right and left give access to the north and south aisles of the nave respectively. With the exception of the dome all the rest of the roof has a barrel-vault, built in the usual Egyptian way.

The squinch can clearly be distinguished in the view of the dome that was made, like the rest of the church, of sun-dried bricks.

EAST SERREH NUBIA.

North church.

Dome over chancel.

EAST KERRER

This ruined town stands on the east bank of the Nile about 12 miles north of the Wady Halfa. It contains three small churches that are interesting chiefly from the architectural point of view for they show that the squinch and pendentive were used concurrently to support a dome built over a square sub-structure. From the liturgical arrangement they do not differ substantially from the early African church model. There was but a single altar in a sanctuary at the east end, and a small chapel of the prothesis and the diaconicon communicating with it on each side. These chapels contain recesses in the wall that were no doubt used to keep the sacred vessels, books, and other church furniture.

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The squinch can clearly be distinguished in the view of the dome that was made, like the rest of the church, of sun-dried bricks.



The second church is situated in the centre of the town, and like the last was made entirely of sun-dried bricks and covered inside with whitewash. It is also built on substantially the same plan, was roofed with barrel vaults, and has a high pitch cupola over the eastern bay of the nave.

This church is rather larger than the first, and there was a triforium over the transepts or aisles adjoining the cupola. The view of the latter looking upwards shows that the crown is gone, and in place of the squinches seen in the angles of the first church there are in this one small pendentives, so slight indeed that they are only distinguishable at the point where the angles of the square substructure end and the dome begins.

The third church is like the first, and stands just outside the town gate on the south side. It is more ruined than the other two, and only the outer walls on the north, east, and south sides remain. The wall dividing the nave from the south aisle is also still standing, and my guide is leaning against it; the corresponding wall on the north side of the nave is gone. The view shows the chancel arch, and sufficient is left of the base of the cupola to include the pendentive that supported it.

ADDENDAN EAST CHURCH

This church stands about half a kilometre from the Nile, and in design and detail of construction is a much more ambitious building than any of the others in the neighbourhood. Messrs. Maciver and Mileham's *essai de reconstruction* gives a good idea of the general appearance of the church when it was perfect. There is, I believe, a resemblance between this church and some in Abyssinia, but the only building I have seen like it is S. Maria delle cinque torri at Monte Cassino. I have included this Nubian church here for that reason, and because S. Maria is described and illustrated elsewhere in these notes. The idea was no doubt obtained from one of the Greek churches of the Levant. The towers at the angles were covered with little domes, and these rested on the square substructure on slabs of stone let into the angles. This was the primitive way of supporting a vault where the span was small.

UPPER EGYPT

The churches at Nakadeh and Medinet Habu illustrate the common Coptic arrangement where the altar is built in a square sanctuary (haikal) covered with a dome, and screened by an iconostasis. Sometimes three altars are put in the same haikal, but more usually, as here, in separate apartments. The student who is familiar with Mr. Butler's book will know why more than one altar was necessary or usual, and in these churches there are three or four haikals in a row, each provided with an altar. The earlier screens are usually made of plain stone and the later ones of wood; some examples of the latter in the churches of old Cairo are beautifully inlaid with ivory. These screens are always provided with either two doors and a squint or guichet in the centre, or with a door in the centre and guichets on each side. The guichet was provided for the priest to hand the communion to the communicant without leaving the sanctuary; but it would seem that in modern and town churches, where the congregation is more sophisticated, this practice is discontinued; the guichets continue, however, to be introduced even into quite modern screens, as for example in the new church at Sohag, built by the late Basta Bey and maintained by my friends Suwaris and his brothers.

NAKADEH

The monastery dedicated to S. Michael* illustrated here stands about two miles south-west of this town on the borders of the desert. It is built of sun-dried bricks, and at a distance looks like a small fort. The first view is taken from a spot in the desert about two hundred yards to the north-east. As a khamesin happened to be blowing on the day this was taken, the surrounding country is blotted out in the picture.

I must now refer to the accompanying plan of the south-east side of the monastery. The corner apse with broken roof in the foreground of the edifice was a store-room or ante-chamber. The next two semi-circular projections on the left of it are the apses of a subsidiary chapel, and again to the left the next three pro-

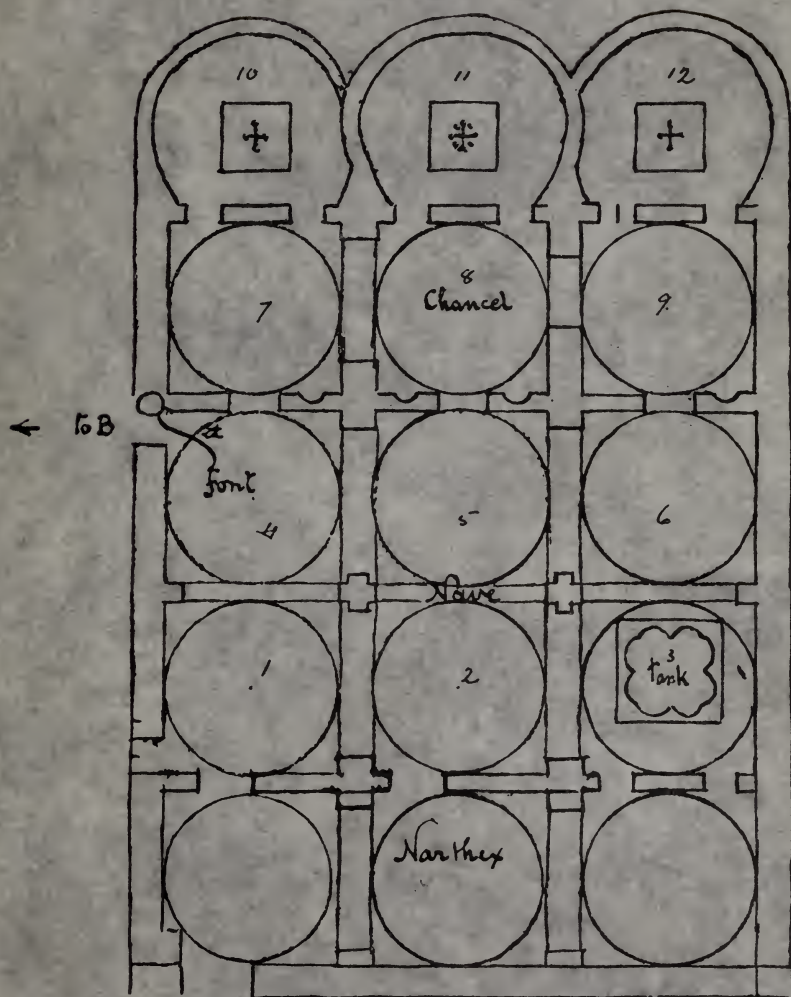
* I think this must be the building described by Mr. Somers Clarke (p. 121) as Der el Malak Mikhaïl, Kamûla.

KAMULA, EGYPT.

S Michael.

Nave and general view.

Plan.



To face page 160

UPPER EGYPT

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three or four haikals in a row, each provided with an altar. The earlier altars are usually made of plain stone and the later ones of wood; some examples of the latter in the churches of old Cairo are beautifully inlaid with ivory. These altars are always provided with either two doors and a guichet in the centre, or with a door in the centre and guichets on each side. The guichet was provided for the priest to hand the communion to the communicant without leaving the sanctuary; but it would seem that in modern town churches, where the congregation is more sophisticated, this practice is discontinued; the guichets continue, however, to be introduced even into quite modern churches, as for example in the new church at Sohag ⁸¹ built by the late Basta Bey and maintained by my friend Suwaris and his brothers.

The monastery described at St. Michael illustrated here stands about five miles south-west of this town on the borders of the desert. It is built of sun-dried bricks and at all times looks like a small fort. The first view is taken from a square in the desert about two hundred yards to the north-east. As a blizzard happened to be blowing on the day this photograph was taken the surrounding country is blotted out in the picture.

I must now return to the accompanying plan of the south-west side of the monastery. The corner apse with broken roof in the foreground of the edifice was a store-room or a granary. The next two semicircular projections on the left are the apses of a subsidiary chapel, and again to the left the next three pro-

* I think this must be the building described by Mr. Somerset Clarke (p. 122) as the 'Old Monastery, Komila'.



jections are the chancel apse in the centre, and the apses of the prothesis and the diaconicon of the principal church. The little domed building on the left is detached from the main group seen in the picture. The entrance of the monastery is round the corner where the donkeys are standing, and just beyond the detached building. The next view is taken from the courtyard on the west side, and shows the entrance to the narthex.

It will be noticed from the plan that the church consists of a number of small squares. This plan was adopted as no wood was available, and the architect had to construct his building in such a way that it could be covered by brick domes. In the circular chancels, or haikals, the domes are merely built up over the substructure like beehives, but in the rest of the church, the nave, narthex, and outer apartments, they are supported by squinches resting on the angles of the square substructure.

The church is divided into a narthex of three squares, a nave of six, a chancel of three, and three haikals or sanctuaries. The general view is taken from near the font looking towards the Epiphany tank, which was covered by boards, and at the time of my visit contained about 18 inches of water; it was used once a year. The view of the chancel, taken from square 9, shows on the right hand side the screens in front of the central apse and of the prothesis. Another picture shows the screen in front of the central apse, in this case a circular domed room, and a corner of the altar behind. The latter is as usual a mass of stone masonry, about one metre square, with a slab on the top of it. In the wall of the apses there are one or two recesses or niches intended to hold lights, to receive the sacred vessels, or a lavabo for the celebrant. The altar furniture consists of a little wooden box or tabernacle on the altar, a chalice, paten, handcross, a candlestick or two, and a number of little ceremonial serviettes which play an important part in the service in this hot country. The student will of course consult Mr. Butler's work, and he will find illustrations of these and other altar furniture, their significance and object.

The other view of this church, looking down a passage into the adjoining chapel, shows a recess or niche cut in the wall containing the kind of jar that usually does duty for font in Coptic churches.

*MEDINET HABU**S. Theodore*

This church is situated in the desert about three hundred yards south of the mausoleum of Rameses and close to the valley containing the tombs of the Queens. In general appearance it is not unlike Nakadeh, but it is smaller, and being better preserved is still used for worship.

The church is divided into squares covered with domes as at Nakadeh, making sanctuary, chancel, nave, and baptistery with a narthex. These are all numbered on the plan. 1 to 4 are the haikals for as many altars, of which the principal is 3.* 5 is the baptistery with the Epiphany tank, and 10 the narthex in front of it. 6 to 9 are the chancel, and 11 to 18 the nave. The apartments for the women 11 and 15. The annexes 19 to 21 are used apparently for the same purpose.

The general view of the nave is taken from A on the plan. The screen facing the spectator at the end of the church is the women's portion. The thick wall with the pointed arch in it, seen in the middle of the picture, is the screen between the chancel and the nave. The only decoration on it is a panel with three dedication crosses on it that should be compared with examples at Sbeitla. Beyond the chancel stands the screen of the haikal concealing the main altar: this screen is hung with pictures like a Greek iconostasis. The pictures include S. George, and are poor and obviously modern.

The domes in this building are made of brick supported on squinches, of the same construction as at Nakadeh, and they are pierced with circular holes to admit the light and air.

* The only way of distinguishing the principal altar in this and other churches where there are several altars in a row, seems to be by the 'trappings.' In the older churches only one altar seemed to be furnished, but in the modern church at Nakadeh all three were provided with cloths, serviettes, tabernacles and candles. The vessels, made of glass or base metal, were tied up in a cloth and laid on the altar.

MEDINET HABU, EGYPT.

S Theodore.

Exterior and stone with crosses; and plan.

ASSOUAN.

S. Simeon.

Detail of vault.

MEDINET HABU

S. Theodore

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The general view of the church is given in the plan. The screen facing the entrance at the end of the church is the women's entrance, with a pointed arch in it seen in the middle of the picture, is the screen between the chancel and the nave. The only decoration on it is a panel with three dedication crosses, 2 that should be compared with examples at Sbeitla. Beyond the chancel stands the screen of the hailal concealing the main altar; this screen is hung with pictures like a Greek iconostasis. The pictures include S. George, and are poor and obviously modern.

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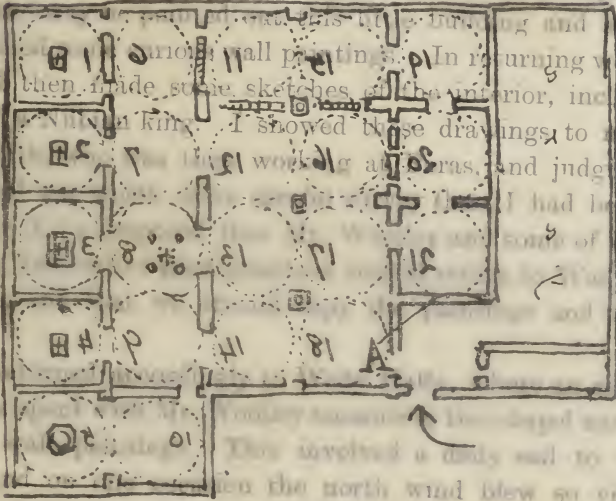


WADY HALFA

Chapel of Abd el Kader, near Abu Seir

This chapel has been frequently visited by Europeans, as the walls unfortunately testify. It stands about three hundred yards from the west bank of the Nile, or a north of the second cataract at Abu Seir.

On reaching Wady Halfa I chartered a felucca to visit the rock and cataract. The steward of the government steamer, an Austrian, asked my permission to accompany me, and on my assent, he said that it contained some fine wall paintings. In returning we visited it, and then made some sketches of the interior, including a fresco of Abd el Kader. I showed these drawings to my host, Mr. [unclear], who was working at the [unclear], and judging that I had been able to give him some of his staff with [unclear] and make a plan.



The plan is that of a [unclear], but the [unclear] ritual squints in the wall A leave no room for doubt that it was the sanctuary. Of the nave, D and E two aisles, and F and G two outer aisles added at a later date. The roof is entirely composed of waggon roofing, with the exception of a small square space covered by a dome of cross vault that has crumbled away. The materials

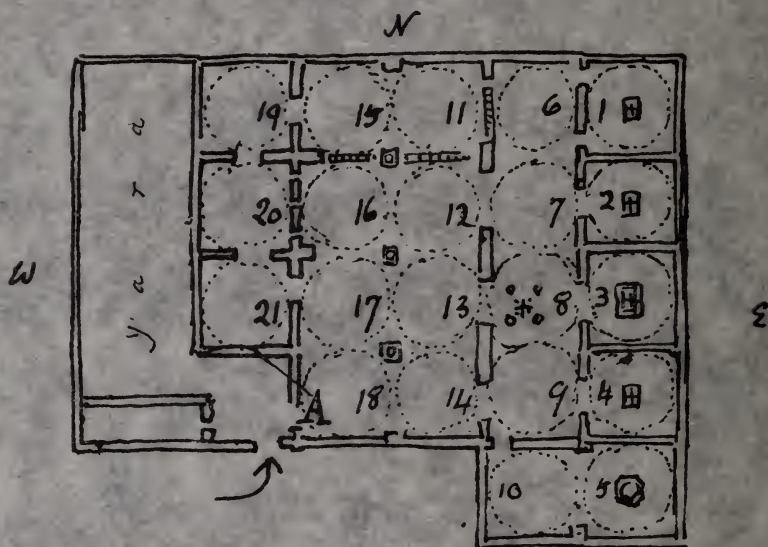
* The plan is by Mr. Wenley.

MEDINET HABU.

S Theodore.

Nave, looking across the church.

The chancel screens on the right and women's pews on the left.



S. Theodore Medinet Habu
 Length N to S. 54 ft. 2
 Breadth
 of church. 30 ft.

WADY HALFA

Chapel at Abd el Kader, near Abu Seir

This chapel has been frequently visited by Europeans, as the walls unfortunately testify. It stands about three hundred yards from the west bank of the Nile and three miles or so north of the second cataract at Abu Seir. On a hill half a mile further north stands an Arab turbé dedicated to Abd el Kader, whence the name of the hamlet on the banks of the stream close by.

The illustrations and plans were made in the following circumstances. On reaching Wady Halfa I chartered a felucca to visit the rock and cataract. The steward of the government steamer, an Austrian, asked my permission to accompany me, and on the way he pointed out this little building and said that it contained some curious wall paintings. In returning we visited it, and I then made some sketches of the interior, including a fresco of a Nubian king. I showed these drawings to my host, Mr. Griffith, who was then working at Faras, and judging that the chapel was worth more careful survey than I had been able to give to it, he proposed that Mr. Woolley and some of his staff including two native photographers should return to Wady Halfa with me, and that we should copy the paintings and make a plan.*

We returned accordingly to Wady Halfa, where an agreeable week was spent with Mr. Woolley measuring the chapel and drawing the wall paintings. This involved a daily sail to Abd el Kader, and on one occasion the north wind blew so violently and the river became so rough that two of our native passengers in the felucca were seasick, and Mr. Woolley and I came also within measurable distance of what Americans call courting Neptune.

The plan * is most peculiar, but the two little ritual squints in the wall A leave no room for doubt that B was the sanctuary, C the nave, D and E two aisles, and F and G two outer aisles added at a later date. The roof is entirely composed of waggon vaulting, with the exception of a small square space covered by a dome or cross vault that has crumbled away. The materials

* The plan is by Mr. Woolley.

throughout are of sun-dried bricks. It is obvious that this miniature church was not intended for congregational worship, and the term votive chapel probably describes more correctly its real character.

I give three views of the exterior. The third is taken on the roof to show that this consisted of a series of vaults made of bricks placed slantwise in the usual Coptic way, and a little square hole originally covered by a dome or vault. The fourth view is taken in the north door looking across the chapel from G to H, and the figure will give some idea of the diminutive proportions. There is nothing specially remarkable in the architecture to any one familiar with Coptic methods. The interest centres in a large and wonderfully preserved collection of paintings that cover almost all the available wall space inside.

The subjects were first drawn in black outline and then painted in colours, chiefly red and yellow. The picture deserving particular notice is of a Nubian king with a peculiar crown on his head. There are four figures in this group: (1) God the Father, (2) our Lord on the extreme left presenting (3) the king, who appears to be either seated or kneeling. On his left hand is another figure (4) perhaps intended to represent the patron saint. Beside the peculiar crown with the two horns, notice the king's dress decorated with scroll work and what appear to be representations of the double-headed eagle. In his left hand he holds some object that I took to be a book of the Gospels, but, as Mr. Woolley points out, is more probably a model of the church.

Another remarkable group represents Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, with the Spirit of God above protecting them from the surrounding flames. Compare their dress with that given in the Bible narrative and notice the check pattern trousers and the large cloaks. There are several equestrian figures, including the Magi and three archangels. The photograph of one of the latter, whose identity we have not established, shows a horseman seated on a white horse holding a lance in his right hand with which he is spearing a scorpion. Notice the crown with three crosses on his head, his cloak flying out in the wind, his hessian boots, and the trappings of the horse.

The details of some of the costumes, the trappings and the

*Chapel
Abu Seir.*

*Wall paintings,
S Theodore on horseback.*

*Presentation of the church by a King with turban
and crescent ornament on it, Shadrach, Mesach
and Abednego in the fiery furnace.*

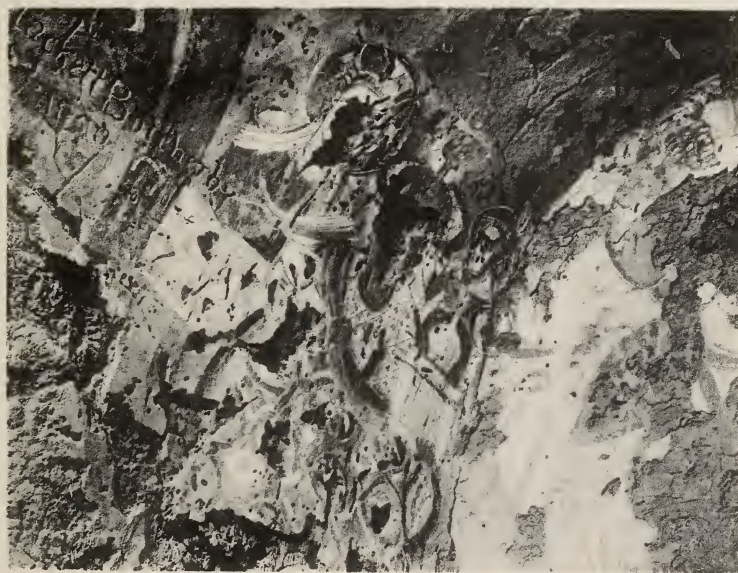
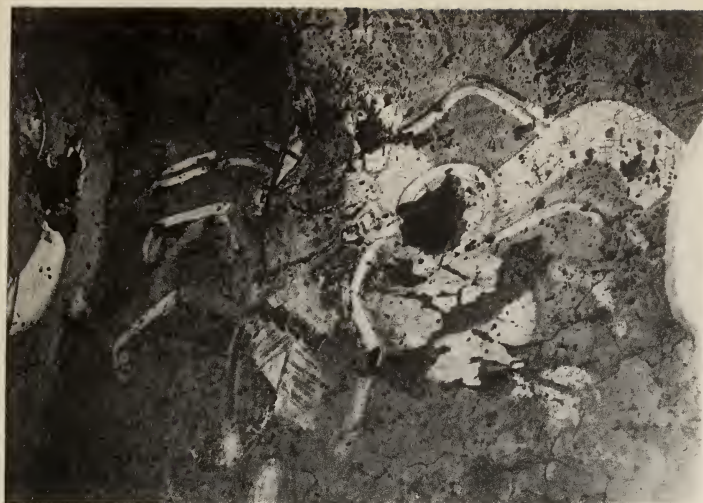
throughout are of sun-dried bricks. It is obvious that the miniature church was not intended for congregational worship and the term votive chapel probably describes more correctly its real character.

I give three views of the exterior. The third is taken on the roof to show that this consisted of a series of rooms made of bricks placed slantwise in the usual Coptic way, and a large square hole originally covered by a dome or vault. The fourth view is taken in the north door looking across the chapel from G to H, and the figure will give some idea of the diametrical proportions. There is nothing specially remarkable in the architecture to any one familiar with Coptic methods. The interest centres in a large and wonderfully preserved collection of paintings that cover almost all the available wall space.

The subjects were first drawn in black outline and then painted in colours, chiefly red and yellow. The picture deserving particular notice is that of a king with a crown on his head, (1) God the Father, (2) the Lord on the cross, (3) the king, who is either seated or kneeling. On his left hand is another figure (4) perhaps intended to represent the king's son, who is also crowned with two horns, and what appear to be sceptres. In his right hand he holds some object that I took to be a book of the Gospels, but, as Mr. Woolley points out, is more probably a model of the church.

Another remarkable group represents Shaddad, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace with the figure of God above protecting them from the surrounding flames. Compare their dress with that given in the Bible narrative and notice the check pattern trousers and the large oinaks. There are several equestrian figures, including the Magi and three archangels. The photograph of one of the latter, whose identity we have not established, shows a horseman seated on a white horse holding a lance in his right hand with which he is spearing a scorpion. He wears a crown with three crosses on his head, his cloak flying in the wind, his hessian boots, and the trappings of the horse.

The details of some of the costumes, the trappings and the



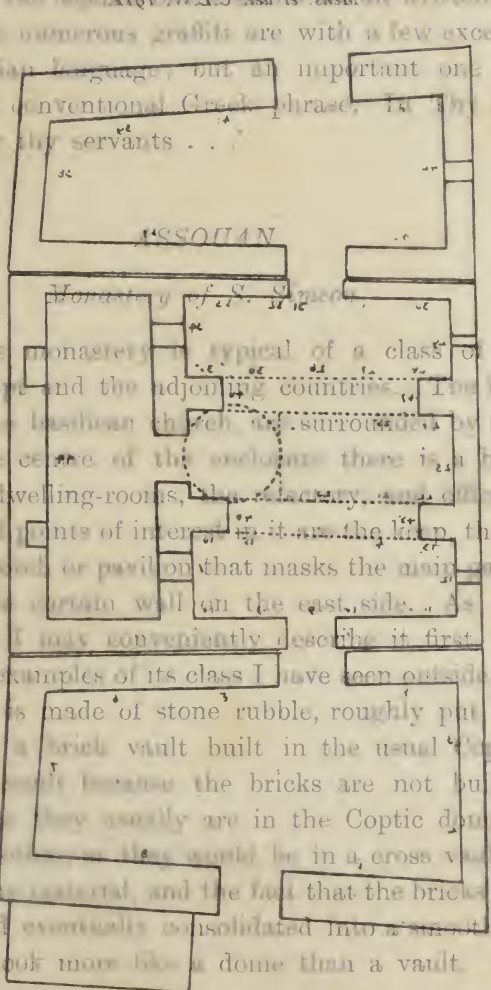


harness and the general appearance of the horses are like those seen in Persian pictures.

The fourth picture is a conventional representation of the Christos, with wings issuing from a cloud, &c. The figure was a representation of our Lord. **CHAP. I.**

The doorway face rendered in a very simple and direct manner. Among the minor sculptures on the wall are several in a direction towards the door, and one over the door is the legend Agios Soterios. It is worth noticing that though there is nothing Byzantine about these paintings, the legends are all written in Greek characters.

The numerous graffiti are with a few exceptions in the ancient Syrian language, but an important one in Greek begins with the conventional Greek phrase, *Remember thy kingdom, Lord, remember thy servants . . .*



This fortress-monastery is typical of a class of building common to Egypt and the adjoining countries. The buildings, including a large basilican church, are surrounded by a curtain wall, and in the centre of the enclosure there is a high keep containing the dwelling-rooms, the treasury and offices.

The principal points of interest in it are the keep, the church, and the square tower or pavilion that masks the main gate of the monastery in the curtain wall on the east side. As we enter by this pavilion I may conveniently describe it first, and it is one of the best examples of its class I have seen outside the oasis of Kharga. It is made of stone rubble, roughly put together, and covered by a brick vault built in the usual Coptic way. I use the word *roughly* because the bricks are not built up in rings or courses as they usually are in the Coptic dome, but at angles to one another, as they would be in a cross vault. Due to the softness of the material, and the fact that the bricks were put in place wet, and eventually consolidated into a smooth surface, makes the roof look more like a dome than a vault. Still, the

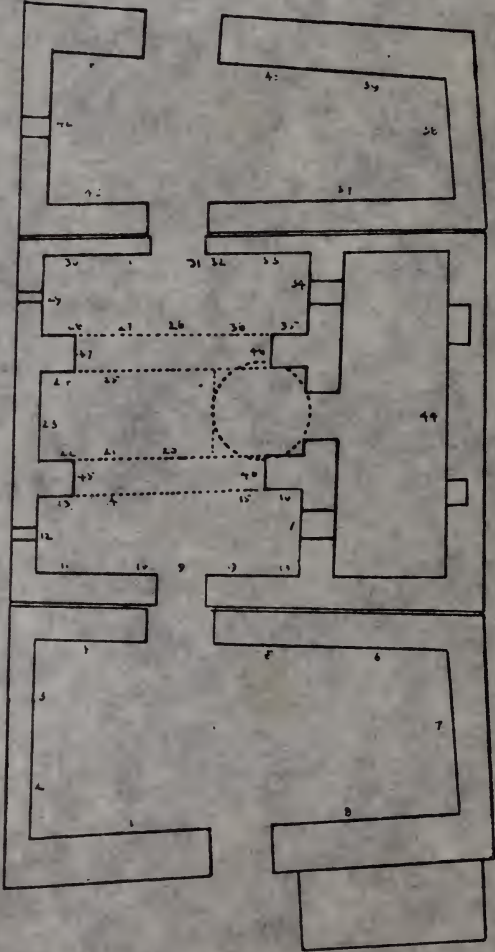
1. The fragment showing the construction of the earliest church is a copy of the *Revue de l'Égypte* published in 1877 at Constantinople.

CHAPEL
near Abd el Kader.

HALFA.

Scale 1 : 50.

Mens. et del. C.L.W. 1912.



harness and the general appearance of the horses are like those seen in Persian pictures.

The fourth picture is a conventional representation of the Cherubin, with wings issuing from a circle; in the centre was a representation of our Lord. The drawing of the bull's head and the human face rendered in a few deft strokes deserve notice. Among the minor subjects are several dedication crosses, and near one over the door is the legend Agios Stavros. It is worth noticing that though there is nothing Byzantine about these paintings, the legends of the saints are all written in Greek characters. The numerous graffiti are with a few exceptions in the native Nubian language; but an important one in Greek begins with the conventional Greek phrase, 'In Thy kingdom, Lord, remember thy servants . . .'

ASSOUAN

Monastery of S. Simeon

This fortress monastery is typical of a class of building common to Egypt and the adjoining countries. The buildings, including a large basilican church, are surrounded by a curtain wall, and in the centre of the enclosure there is a high keep containing the dwelling-rooms, the refectory, and offices.

The principal points of interest in it are the keep, the church, and the square porch or pavilion that masks the main gate of the monastery in the curtain wall on the east side. As we enter by this pavilion, I may conveniently describe it first, and it is one of the best examples of its class I have seen outside the oasis of Khargeh. It is made of stone rubble, roughly put together, and covered by a brick vault built in the usual Coptic way. I use the term vault because the bricks are not built up in rings or layers as they usually are in the Coptic dome, but at angles to one another, as they would be in a cross vault.* But the softness of the material, and the fact that the bricks were put in place wet, and eventually consolidated into a smooth surface, makes the roof look more like a dome than a vault. Still, the

* See diagram showing the construction of the narthex vaults on p. 37 of the Byzantine Research Fund's publication on S. Eirene at Constantinople

principle of construction is that of a vault, and in theory it is that adopted in building the roofs of the chapels at El Gebioui and Maatria in Tunis ; but though the principle is the same, the work was carried out in a different way owing to the difference in the materials available ; and the comparison is the more interesting, for the native architects in Egypt and Tunis of to-day retain the principle and still follow the different practices of their forefathers.

The keep is built like an Egyptian temple with sloping walls, the lower half of stone, the upper part of sun-dried bricks, and a cornice at the top. The numerous rooms inside, including a long hall or gallery, cellars and storerooms, are roofed with barrel vaults made of bricks in the usual Coptic way.

The church, which was a basilica, has been completely gutted, and all that remains of it are the side walls and the apses at each end of the nave. The sanctuary is at the east end, and as usual in these Coptic churches the apse is built within a square outer wall, the spaces in the angles being occupied by small rooms that represent the prothesis and the diaconicon respectively. The apse itself is square and roofed with a semi-circular semi-dome, supported on squinches.*

The wall paintings date from the thirteenth century or later, and are of no particular merit. Our Lord seated in glory occupies the centre of the field ; His left hand holds a book of the Gospels and the right hand is raised in benediction according to the Greek way. On each side are the archangels, and beyond them two other angels.

The altar stood in the usual Coptic way between a screen and the apse, and a recess in the apse wall was probably intended for the bishop's chair.

At the west end of the nave is another and smaller semi-circular apse covered with a semi-dome, apparently a memorial chapel, and near it, in a cave on the north side, are a number of wall paintings with diminutive figures of saints. This cave was presumably the place of interment of the founder or other notable person connected with the monastery.

* The reader should study Mr. Somers Clarke's account of this church.



KHARGEH

24

The Khargeh cemetery in the oasis of Khargeh has been long known and described by travellers, and an American archaeological expedition has now undertaken a systematic exploration of the site and excavation of the tombs. It is well known that, and the journey is now quite easy since the construction of the main railway from the main line at Farshut to the village of Khargeh. The tombs are arranged roughly in three parallel rows on the spot of a limestone hill standing out in the middle of the oasis, and at a distance they look like a village with two main streets. The accompanying photographs taken from the north and south ends of the cemetery give a general idea of the locality.

In former times, and indeed to-day, the oasis was used as a place of exile, and since the Nile valley is a three days' march across the Libyan desert, it formed a prison whence escape was practically impossible. The tradition that there was a

KHARGEH

Christian settlement from early times is confirmed by these tombs, and by the fact that the tombs are of a similar size, and decoration and

like the tombs of the cemetery and chapel.

From the descriptions of the origin and circumstances of the foundation of the Christian colony, or whether it was held, it was at first composed of the followers of a heretic who suffered exile there, or whether it survived the early persecutions. Were the history of Christianity in this part of Africa the same as in Tunis and Algiers there would be no difficulty in fixing the date of these tombs between the beginning of the fourth century and the end of the seventh, but the circumstances here are quite different, for while in those two provinces the Christians were completely wiped out by the Arabs, the Copts in Egypt were able to hold their own and still maintain to the present day. It is, moreover, very difficult to determine the age of primitive buildings like these in a country where the same designs, patterns, and methods of construction were copied over and over again by succeeding generations, and the materials used were always the same and remained unaffected by the arid climate. The general

KHARGEH.

Oasis.

View of the cemetery and a chapel.

Front and side view.

KHARGEH

The Christian cemetery in the oasis of Khargeh has been often visited and described by travellers, and an American archæological expedition has now undertaken a systematic exploration of the site and excavation of the tombs. It is well worth a visit, and the journey is now quite easy since the construction of the oasis railway from the main line at Farshut to the village of Khargeh. The tombs are arranged roughly in three parallel rows on the spur of a limestone hill standing out in the middle of the oasis, and at a distance they look like a village with two main streets. The accompanying photographs taken from the north and south ends of the cemetery give a general idea of the locality.

In Roman times, as indeed to-day, the oasis was used as a place of exile, and since the Nile valley is a three days' march across the Libyan desert, it formed a prison whence escape was practically impossible. The tradition that there was a Christian settlement from early times is confirmed by these tombs, and judging by their number, size, and decoration the community must have been large and prosperous. The tombs afford no evidence in the way of dated inscriptions of the origin and circumstances of the foundation of the Christian colony, or whether, as some hold, it was at first composed of the followers of Nestorius who suffered exile there, or whether it survived the Arab conquest. Were the history of Christianity in this part of Africa the same as in Tunis and Algiers there would be no difficulty in fixing the date of these tombs between the beginning of the fourth century and the end of the seventh, but the circumstances here are quite different, for while in those two provinces the Christians were completely wiped out by the Arabs, the Copts in Egypt were able to hold their own and still continue to the present day. It is, moreover, very difficult to determine the age of primitive buildings like these in a country where the same designs, patterns, and methods of construction were copied over and over again by succeeding generations, and the materials used were always the same and remained unaffected by the arid climate. The general

appearance of the tombs, the presence of certain classical details in construction and ornament, and the absence of certain others peculiar to the Arabs and eventually adopted by the Copts, justify a preference for an early date before the Saracen conquest in the seventh century, and that is all that can be safely said in the present state of knowledge.

There is so much variety in elevation and ground plan that hardly two tombs are exactly alike. I was surprised to find that this cemetery does not contain a single example of a tomb built on the trefoil plan. The favourite design, adopted with many variations, seems to have been an octagonal cell covered with a vault, and a square hall or porch in front, so that as a general rule the more important tombs were composed of two chambers, the inner one serving for the interment of bodies placed in a small trench or pit in the floor, and the outer one as a porch.

The tomb A is illustrated here to represent the usual combination of a porch in front and cella behind. The first two views show the south front and the west side, where the furrows or scars seen in the walls are caused by rain that falls, I believe, about once in a decade. The next is a picture of the interior of another octagonal cella, roofed by a vault; the walls are ornamented with arch mouldings and small niches of classical design probably intended for lamps. In this particular tomb there are no wall paintings, but in some the roofs are decorated with representations of familiar subjects from the Old and New Testament. These are roughly drawn and crudely coloured in the style familiar to us from the catacombs at Rome.

To this common pattern of tomb there are several exceptions. The most important situated at the north end of the cemetery is identified as the cathedral. This was probably a small monastery, and it contains a church, a hall, and a number of smaller chambers, of which some were cells and others tombs, grouped together within a curtain wall. The little plan copied from a sketch in my notebook must be taken merely to indicate the relative positions of the southern part of this group of buildings, and the places the photographs were taken from. The material used in this and all the other tombs is sun-dried bricks.

The first view is taken on the south side to show the

KHARGEH.

Two circular tombs.

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There is so much variety in elevation and ground plan that hardly two tombs are exactly alike. I was surprised to find that this cemetery does not contain a single example of a tomb built on the freest plan. The favourite design, adapted with many variations, seems to have been an octagonal cell capped with a vault, and a square hall or porch in front, so that as a general rule the more important tombs were composed of two chambers, the inner one serving for the interment of bodies placed in a small trench or pit in the floor, and the outer one as a porch.

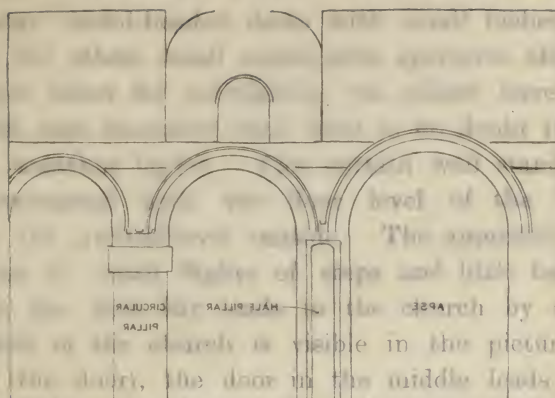
The tomb A is illustrated here to represent the usual combination of a porch in front and cells behind. The first two views show the tomb front and the rear cell, showing the furrows or scars upon the walls are caused by rain flow that, I believe, about once in a hundred years. The next is a picture of the interior of another octagonal cell, roofed by a vault; the walls are ornamented with arch mouldings and small circles of stucco design probably intended for lamps. In the pictures only there are no wall paintings, but in some the walls are decorated with representations of familiar subjects from the Old and New Testament. These are roughly drawn and crudely coloured in the style familiar to us from the catacombs at Rome.

To this common pattern of tomb there are several exceptions. The most important situated at the north end of the cemetery is identified as the cathedral. This was probably a small monastery, and it contains a church, a hall, and a number of smaller chambers, of which some were cells and others tombs grouped together within a curtain wall. The little plan copied from a sketch in my notebook must be taken merely to indicate the relative positions of the southern part of the group of buildings, and the places the photographs were taken from. The material used in this and all the other tombs is sun-dried brick.

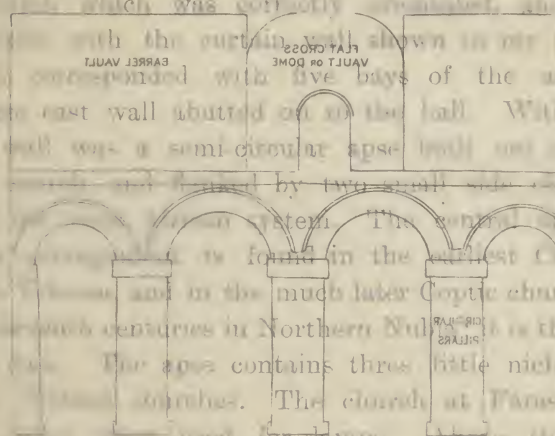
The first view is taken on the south side to show the



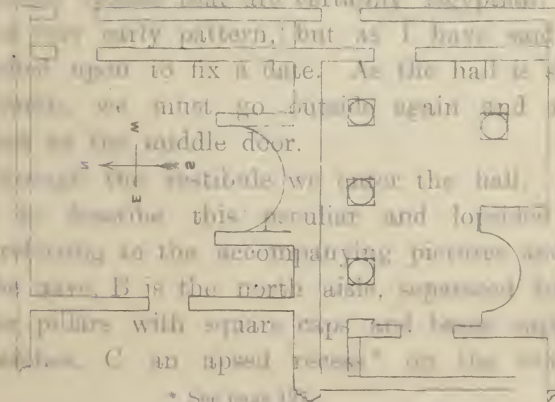




Mar. 2, 1912

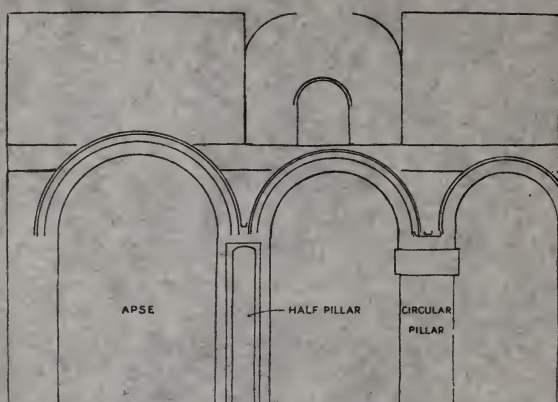


... V. ...

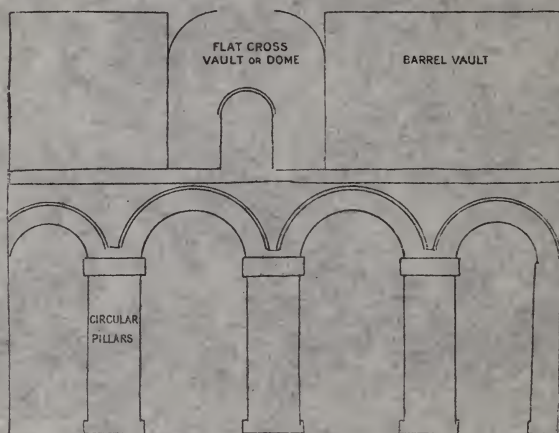


* See page 12

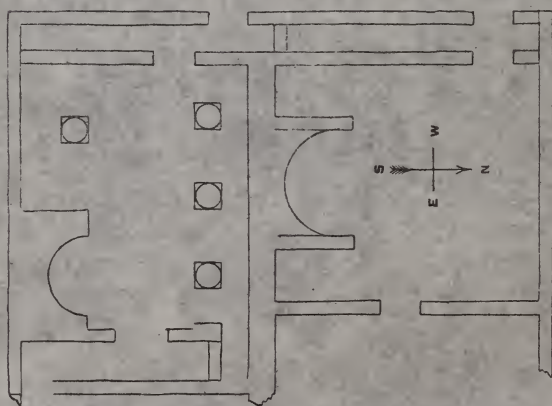
Kharakh cathedral tomb. West front, Hall, and plans. Church. Hall.



Hall. S. side.



Hall. N. side.



Hall.

Church.

Khargeh cathedral tomb. West front, Hall, and plans.

façade of the curtain wall decorated with an engaged colonnade supporting ten round-headed arches. In the first and sixth bay there were round-headed doors with small niches above them, and in the others small rectangular apertures above and triangular ones below for ventilation; the pillars have square bases and little caps decorated with what is no doubt intended to represent acanthus leaves. This curtain wall stands on a plinth to correspond with the floor level of the interior raised above the ground-level outside. The approach to the two doors was by small flights of steps and little balusters. The door in the first bay leads to the church by a court (the south wall of the church is visible in the picture looking through the door), the door in the middle leads to the hall and adjoining chambers. I may conveniently begin with the church which was correctly orientated, and stood therefore parallel with the curtain wall shown in my picture. In length it corresponded with five bays of the arcading and the square east wall abutted on to the hall. Within the square east wall was a semi-circular apse built out into the body of the church, and flanked by two small side chambers according to the usual African system. The central apse and side chamber arrangement is found in the earliest Christian churches like Tebessa, and in the much later Coptic churches of the tenth or eleventh centuries in Northern Nubia; it is therefore no guide to date. The apse contains three little niches also found in the Nubian churches. The church at Faras shows that these niches were used for lamps. Above them are three loop-headed crosses that are certainly Egyptian. These crosses are of very early pattern, but as I have said before cannot be relied upon to fix a date. As the hall is shut off from the church, we must go outside again and re-enter the south front by the middle door.

Passing through the vestibule we enter the hall. I shall not attempt to describe this peculiar and lopsided building without referring to the accompanying pictures and plan. In it A is the nave, B is the north aisle, separated from the nave by three pillars with square caps and bases supporting four round arches, C an apsed recess* on the south side

* See page 127.

covered by a semi-dome decorated with paintings, D the aisle on the south side. The shading on the plan indicates the barrel vaulting, and the cross shading the little dome or cross vault. E and F are the two entrances which are not opposite one another, and G is a sepulchral room covered like the nave partly with a barrel vault and with a small dome or cross vault. The small letters indicate the places the pictures are taken from, showing the east and north sides of the nave and part of the barrel and cross vault. The dimensions are approximately 10 metres long by 7 broad.*

The other notable exceptions to the common plan are two circular tombs; they are about the same size and measure about 3 metres in diameter and 2 metres from the ground to the spring of the dome. There is not much to be said about them beyond noticing that originally the sides were walled up and light and air admitted by little triangular apertures. The interment was effected in a shallow pit in the centre of the floor.

The other photographs sufficiently explain themselves; among them are a half-dome built of brick and a tomb with a porch that might be Roman.

* The cathedral and the smaller building like it deserve more careful study than I was able to give to them. And I am not sure that my plan is quite correct.

KHARGEH.

Chapel, tombs and transept.

Apse in cathedral tomb with paintings on the half dome.

covered by a semi-dome decorated with paintings, D is on the south side. The shading on the plan indicates the barrel vaulting, and the cross shading the little dome or cross vault. E and F are the two entrances which are not opposite one another, and G is a sepulchral room covered like the nave partly with a barrel vault and with a small dome or cross vault. The small letters indicate the places the pictures are taken from, showing the east and north sides of the nave and part of the barrel and cross vault. The dimensions are approximately 10 metres long by 7 broad.*

The other notable exceptions to the common plan are two circular tombs; they are about the same size and measure about 3 metres in diameter and 2 metres from the ground to the spring of the dome. There is not much to be said about these except noticing that originally the sides were walled up and light and air admitted by little triangular apertures. The interment was effected in a shallow pit in the centre of the floor.

The other photographs sufficiently explain themselves; among them are a half-dome tomb of brick and a tomb with a porch that might be Roman.

KHARGH.

Chapel, tombs and transept.

* The cathedral and the smaller building here deserve more careful study than that of the other tombs. The cathedral is a fine example of the early domed type. The smaller building is a fine example of the early domed type. The cathedral is a fine example of the early domed type. The smaller building is a fine example of the early domed type.





APPENDIX

The following is a transcript of parts of the charter granted by Count Roger to the Abbot Chremetes, referred to in the notes on the church at Castiglione. There is some difficulty in identifying the parcels, but there seems no doubt as to the locality, and the church of S. Domenico is either the ruined church which was replaced by the little Norman chapel of S. Nicoló near the Castiglione bridge, or the church to be rebuilt by Abbot Chremetes.

Roger the Count grants to the Abbot Chremetes de Placa as follows:—

KHARCEH

Tibi tradidit insulam istam talem, in parvam vigesimam generationem hominum Castrileonis, causa sublevandi templum deterioris ac ipsam reedificandi et ad monachorum residentiam educandi, velut ac reliquæ ad insulam talem, rende, ad istos Monasterii servitium et consuetudinem divisi terras multas, omnia, loca deserta et campos sicut incipiunt.

Then follow the parcels.

Ille ascendit flumen magnum et conjungit usque ad Fucurum, descendit ac redit flumen ipsum usque ad magnam speranciam, et deinde usque ad collem magnum dictum Sterio et ascendit ad magni collis et Polemum (?) ex parte interiori et deinde descendit flumen ipsum usque ad fluviculum et deinde ascendit ad crista et concludit deinde per rivulum ad Monasterii.

I have not attempted to precise these boundaries, but am

KHARGEH.

Architectural details in chapels.

APPENDIX

The following is a transcript of parts of the charter granted by Count Roger to the Abbot Chremetes, referred to in the notes on the church at Castiglione. There is some difficulty in identifying the parcels, but there seems no doubt as to the locality, and the church of S. Domenico is either the ruined church which was replaced by the little Norman chapel of S. Nicoló near the Castiglione bridge, or the church to be rebuilt by Abbot Chremetes.

Roger the Count grants to the Abbot Chremetes de Placa as follows :—

‘Tibi tradidi ad insulam istam talem in parvam vigesimam numerationem hominum Castrileonis, causa sublevandi templum Salvatoris ac ipsam reedificandi et ad monachorum residentiam ordinandi, velut ac reliquæ ad insulam talem, rende, ad istius Monasterii servitium et consuetudinem divisi terras multas, nemora, loca deserta et campos sicut incipiunt.’

Then follow the parcels.

‘Ubi ascendit flumen magnum et conjungit usque ad Furnari fluviculum ac redit flumen ipsum usque ad magnam speluncam, et illinc usque ad collem magnum dictum Sterio et ascendit crista ipsius magni collis et Polum (?) ex parte meridiei et illinc descendit flumen ipsum usque ad fluviculum et sicut ascendit monasterii crista et concludit deinde per manifesta concessione ipsius Monasterii.’

I have not attempted to precise these boundaries, but assum-

ing that the two rivers are branches of the Alcantara, the territory referred to seems to be that on the south of Fraucavilla and west of Castiglione where this church and the little Norman chapel I have referred to are situated. The grant proceeds:

‘Inde principium confinium egimus per omnia concludentia in confine isto tali habeat monasterium de Placa absque ullo impedimento et rixa; et cum ipso redidi ad ipsius monasterii servitium Agarenos Tauromenitos (*i.e.*, the Saracens) quatuor cum eorum uxoribus et filiis . . . (then follow the names) . . . tali propter rationem reedificandi ac potentiabiliter sollicitato . . . Similiter affirmo isto tali monasterio insula Sancti Stephani que est sub Tauromenio, cum omni regimine et navigabili lignum unum sol quod non sit a Mauris aliquibus consuetudine impeditum . . . Messane hac prima prescripta Anno mundi sexmille sexcentum addito uno.’ 1092.

Compare this grant with the Girgenti charter referred to in Vol. I. p. 41. These Arabs no doubt were bondsmen.

Garuffi, *I Documenti inediti etc*, 1 n, 2, p. 7 and following. M.S. Bib: Com: Palermo Q 9, 49, f. 111 old numeration, 51 modern.

* * * * *

I had intended to illustrate here a few examples of marble carved capitals and of a further series of gold coins in our collection from Leo VI to John Zimisce. But this volume is already quite long enough, and so I shall keep them for the third, which I foresee will be required to illustrate some more cellæ trichoræ at Querqueville, Spaccaforo (Val d'Ispica), Monmajour and elsewhere, and the Byzantine churches of Southern Calabria, including Pentedattilo and S. Maria di Tridetti near Brancaleone.

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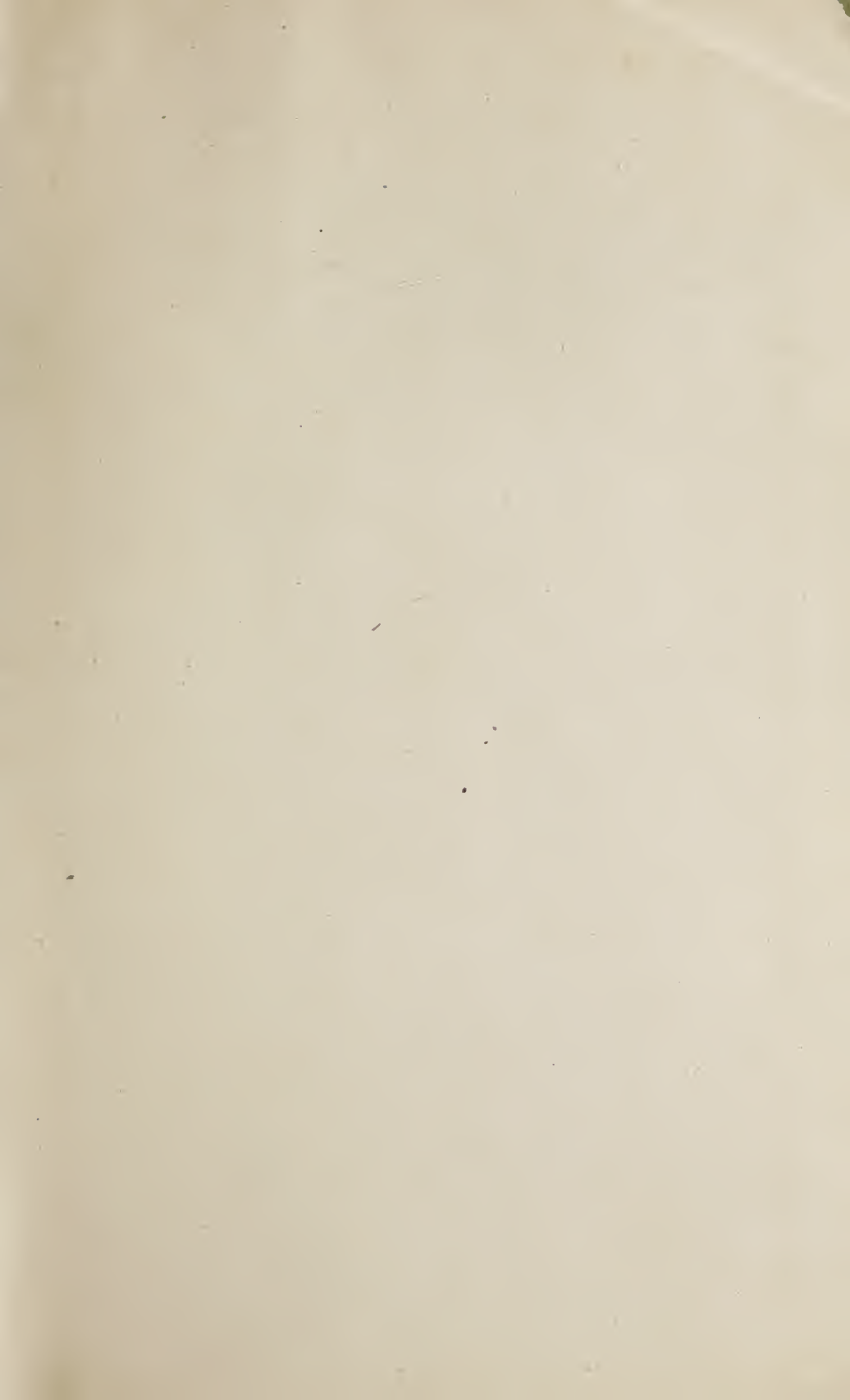
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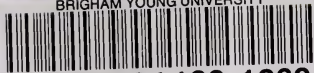
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